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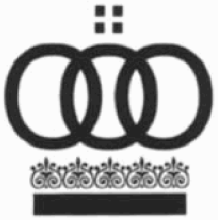

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editorial

DEFENDING TOLERANCE

It's always a cause for rejoicing when the State gives us back some of the freedoms we should have had in the first place and the recent passage in California of a bill (AB 489) authored by Assemblyman Willie Brown (D-San Francisco) decriminalizing all privately performed sexual acts between consenting adults undoubtedly produced its share of celebration. Since the sex laws probably had no deterrent effect—there was probably no change in the type of sexual activity going on, just one less hassle for the average couple to worry about, if they thought about it at all.

Unless the couple was gay.

In *that* case, the new law—nicknamed by its detractors "The Homosexual's Bill of Rights"—had much more significance: it meant that in California homosexuals could finally legally *have* a sex life free from the threat that a nosey landlord, inquisitive cop or some other person out to save homosexuals from themselves could have them arrested for physically expressing their love for a friend and thereafter sentenced to jail or a mental institution (for a maximum of life imprisonment). For them, the repeal of the old California laws has meant a major increase in freedom.

Now, one might expect that these developments would be greeted with great enthusiasm by all of the avowed profreedom forces in our society—but one would be wrong. In fact, some conservative elements in California are trying their best to get the old laws *reinstated.* Led by State Senator H. L. Richardson (R-Arcadia), who even described himself as a libertarian on several occasions during his 1974 bid to unseat U.S. Senator Alan Cranston and who garnered considerable libertarian support based on his strong stand in favor of economic liberties, they have formed the Coalition of Christian Citizens which is trying to block the implementation of the new law by putting a referendum on the June 1976 primary ballot!

Petitions supporting the referendum have been circulated and it seems likely the group will get the approximately 315,000 signatures needed to qualify for the ballot. At this point it is too early to tell about the Coalition's chances for ultimate success—AB 489 just barely passed the legislature, which might indicate a similarly polarized public.

And what of libertarian reaction? Well, obviously AB 489 and similar efforts throughout the country are very much in line with libertarian principles—all libertarians agree that victimless crime laws (such as laws limiting voluntary sexual relations) should be repealed. However, I think it's a mistake if libertarians simply rest on their principles—if we (and here I mean anyone active enough to write a letter to the editor or attend a public forum) are serious about wanting to stop the growth of oppressive government then it is important that we do more than just talk among ourselves: it is imperative that we make appeals to and form tactical alliances with people who are already predisposed to like some of what we have to say (and who hence might be persuaded to buy the rest of our philosophy). This general strategy is already being implemented by libertarian activists with regard to such groups as tax resisters and hard-money advocates—the furor over AB 489 provides the opportunity to present the libertarian philosophy to yet another potentially sympathetic group: homosexuals.

After all, experts estimate that up to four percent of the population is exclusively homosexual, with perhaps ten times that number having some sort of homosexual experience during their adult life—that's a good-sized market for libertarian ideas. The conservative movement—especially the segment represented by the Coalition of Christian Citizens—does not seem too ready to welcome homosexuals (true, *National Review* and *The Alternative* have carried articles urging tolerance towards homosexuals, but judging from subsequent reader reaction it might be concluded that the editors of those publications are more avant-garde than most of their subscribers). And while elements of the radical left are trying hard to welcome homosexuals into their midst and gayness has become rather chic in some socialist circles, even the more left-oriented gay activists remain aware that whatever the rhetoric, in practice homosexuals have fared at least as badly under socialist or Communist governments as under nonsocialist ones.

TYPES OF DISCRIMINATION

Which leaves libertarianism. This is not to say that libertarians should *become* gay (although some *are*)—only that libertarians should try to develop a sympathetic comprehension of what being a homosexual in this society involves, and the sort of legal discrimination a homosexual encounters. For instance, a lesbian can be virtually assured of losing her children if their custody ever gets called into question (as in a divorce case)—her sexual orientation is considered by most courts to be prima facie evidence of her unfitness to be a mother. The marriage laws are obviously discriminatory and thereby deny to homosexual couples legal benefits granted to heterosexual marrieds—lower tax rates, immunity from being forced to testify against a spouse, etc. Probably the most blatantly homophobic institution in our society is the military and security establishment. The armed forces' refusal to allow homosexuals to join or to stay in the military reaches beyond the issue of whether homosexuals should have a chance to receive the training, pensions, and other benefits their tax dollars are paying for—veteran status and an honorable discharge affect a man's chances of getting a job, being admitted to a school, receiving preferential insurance rates, etc. (Note that I am *not* talking about a private business discriminating against homosexuals—libertarians certainly recognize the right to discriminate so long as no force is involved. I am talking about private business using a government certification and the *government's* using some nonrelevant criterion in awarding it.) An inability to get a security clearance (even where they don't present a security risk) can cut a homosexual off from employment in any company holding government contracts and in fact can close whole industries to homosexuals.

In all of these areas, as well as with the general issue of victimless crime laws, libertarians can work with gays, providing an analysis of the role of government in creating many of these problems and offering libertarian solutions that will hopefully help to avoid many of the statist programs that have marred the civil rights and women's movements, as well as directly limiting the power of the State. And if individual gays get turned on to the general libertarian philosophy and broaden their activism to include other antistate issues, so much the better.

In the final analysis a libertarian society will have to be a *tolerant* society, since not initiating force against your neighbors means that you are willing to let them live as they please no matter how alien their life style is to yours, as long as they aren't initiating force against you (if you don't like them, you don't have to deal with them). This political commitment to tolerance is the main thing that distinguishes libertarianism from conservatism and is something that often gets lost in all the libertarian rhetoric about the Federal Reserve System, natural gas pricing, gold coins, etc.—a willingness to get involved in issues such as achieving and defending full civil rights for homosexuals (and other oppressed groups) will do much to restore the balance.—**LYNN KINSKY**

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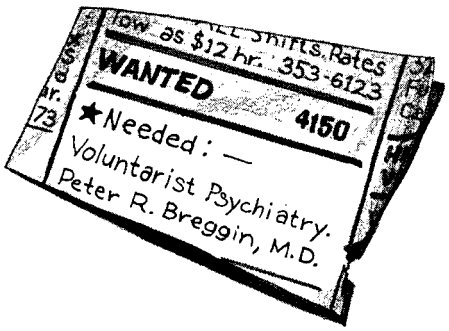

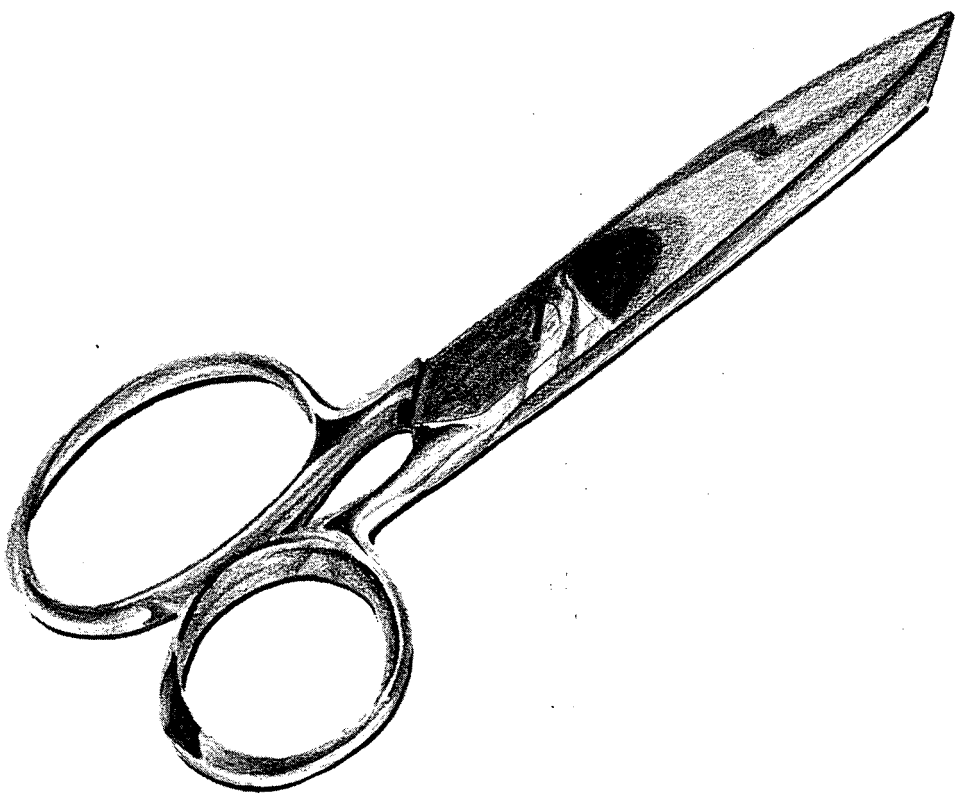

Peter R Breggin MD

A libertarian critique strikes at the very foundation of psychiatry, for nearly all of that institution grows upon assumptions hostile to personal freedom and personal sovereignty. By personal freedom, I mean individual people's *right* and *potential* for maximum freedom of action within their chosen environment—freedom limited only by restraint upon acts which unequivocally aggress against the freedom of others. By personal sovereignty, I mean something more subjective and personal—individuals' right and capacity to seek the fullest experience of their own passionate, intellectual and spiritual life, and to hold themselves totally responsible for the judgments and decisions which they make.

Personal sovereignty to me is an absolute. Individuals *can* and *ought* to decide for themselves what they will think and feel, and they can and ought to hold themselves responsible for each and every judgment that they make. While there will always be some limits on personal *freedom*—albeit very circumscribed ones in a libertarian society—there must never be any limits on personal *sovereignty.* A person's internal life must be entirely his own possession. Personal sovereignty is thus the subjective, psychological counterpart of personal freedom in libertarian politics.

Psychiatry is generally hostile to both personal freedom and personal sovereignty, but it is most menacing in the area of personal sovereignty. Psychiatrists specifically assign to themselves the realm of the mind—*other people's minds*—and much of what they do is based upon the assumption that they can and should judge the content of what goes on in these other minds. Because of this, whatever freedom ideology psychiatry pretends to espouse, its history and practice have been characterized by the most antilibertarian principles and practices.

In this critique of psychiatry, I cannot hope to raise, let alone solve, the myriad of problems inherent in such drastic criticism of an existing institution. My intention is merely to present a *perspective* on psychiatry that has received all too little attention.

Dr. Peter Breggin is a psychiatrist in private practice in Washington, DC and is the founder of the Center for the Study of Psychiatry, whose purpose is to identify, research and oppose psychiatric interventions where they threaten personal and political freedom. Dr. Breggin is also a novelist, having published The Crazy from the Sane *(Lyle Stuart, 1971) and* The Good War *(Stein and Day, 1972; Popular Library, 1974).*

INSTITUTIONS

Institutional psychiatry began more than three centuries ago in 17th century France at the start of industrialization and urbanization, when new means were sought to control large, uprooted masses of people milling about and languishing in the growing cities of Europe. Up to then, psychiatry as a medical specialty had been almost unheard of, and mental hospitals, very few in number, were private institutions, usually run by religious orders, and typically serving the needs of the rich to lock up their more difficult or disturbed relatives. With the urbanization of Europe, however, more efficient and expeditious methods were called upon to incarcerate and "rehabilitate" the large numbers of sick, indigent, disabled and abandoned from the lower classes. Thus psychiatry from the start reflected an antilibertarian or totalitarian alliance between government civil authority and the industrialization process. As Michele Foucault describes it in *Madness and Civilization:*

> From the very start, one thing is clear: The Hopital General is not a medical establishment. It is rather a sort of semijudicial structure, an administrative entity which, along with the already constituted powers, and outside of the courts, decides, judges, and executes .... A quasi-absolute sovereignty, jurisdiction without appeal, a writ of execution against which nothing can prevail—the Hopital General is a strange power that the King establishes between the police and the courts, at the limits of the law: a third order of repression. The insane whom Pinel would find at Bicentre and at La Salpetriere belonged to this world.

In America, as elsewhere, there were only a handful of large mental hospitals before the industrial revolution. Prior to 1830, only a few existed, but by 1860, there was at least one major facility in every state, all in response to urbanization. These enormous lockups have remained with us today, and as the latest statistics from the National Institute of Mental Health confirm, poverty, unemployment and lack of education are still the main variables which describe the inmate populations.

The police state orientation of these modern institutions is no better expressed than by J. Sandor Bockoven, himself a state hospital superintendent in *Moral Treatment in American Psychiatry:*

> The Mental hospital's relationship with its patients is entirely predicated on the thesis that the patient cannot be trusted and must therefore be kept under complete control. Indeed the very essence of the function of the mental hospital is

that of controlling and protecting. The attendant controls the patients and protects them from each other. The nurse controls the attendant and protects the patient against his harshness or laxity. The physician controls the nurse and protects her against supposedly unprincipled attendants, while the superintendent controls his physicians and protects them against the critical public. The energies of the hospital staff are expended in maintaining personnel at a high pitch of alertness to all signs of impending violence of patients. The prevailing psychological climate is one resembling military vigilance against attack. High value is placed on unquestioning obedience to authority, and traditional hospital customs and procedures are revered for their ostensibly time-proven worth in averting disaster. Proposed changes are viewed as threats to the security of all concerned. The entire hospital society has a vested interest in the status quo and looks to the superintendent as the greatest single stabilizing force assuring its preservation.

"Personal sovereignty is thus the subjective, psychological counterpart of personal freedom in libertarian politics."

From the beginning in the 17th century, the backbone of this institutional psychiatry has been involuntary treatment, a process whereby one or two psychiatrists, with or without a judicial rubber stamp, assume total power over the fate of the individual by declaring him "insane" or "mentally ill." This method of imprisonment, made without the due process typical of criminal proceedings, leaves the individual at the mercy of his "physician" who can often determine both the length of stay and the "treatment," which may include anything from solitary confinement to lobotomy.

Thus for 300 plus years, institutional psychiatry has been and continues to be a totalitarian institution, one of the worst in the Western world.

Institutional psychiatry has maintained this totalitarian thrust wherever it has insinuated itself into the society. In the courts, psychiatry engenders its totalitarianism by declaring individuals unfit for trial by reason of incompetence, thereby frequently dooming them to life-long incarceration for alleged crimes which, with conviction, might have earned them meager sentences. In the prison system itself, psychiatry justifies the most cruel and unusual punishments under the guise of treatment—everything from behavior modification by means of fear-inducing drugs to psychosurgery. In the government, schools and military, psychiatrists are used to control, isolate or dismiss troublesome individuals who might otherwise escape these fates through appeal to due process.

BIOLOGY

Biological psychiatry has been the henchman of repressive institutional psychiatry from its inception. Throughout the first centuries of psychiatry, masses of patients were beaten into submission by bleeding, dunking, whipping, cold water baths, poisoning, and starvation, all in the name of biological therapy. Even so sanguine a critic of psychiatry as Emil Kraeplin must describe in *One Hundred Years of Psychiatry* a history of atrocities unparalleled by anything save the Inquisition. The father of American psychiatry, Benjamin Rush, still revered in psychiatric histories, regularly bled his patients after that custom had been long abandoned in medicine. He described threatening them with weapons, pouring cold water down their armpits and spinning them around in a mechanical chair—all to subdue their anguished resistance against the hospital. Even slavery in America fell short of such generalized barbarity, if only because a relatively healthy slave was required for the performance of work.

In the 1930's, haphazard attacks on the body gave way to more effective assaults on the integrity of the brain. International war against the mental patient began with the technology of electroshock, insulin coma therapy and lobotomy. Electroshock, borrowed from the slaughter houses of Italy where it knocked out livestock, was used with equal efficiency in subduing mental patients by obliterating the mental capacities with electrically induced grand mal seizures. Insulin coma produced the same result; a dulling, obtunding and confusing of the person by subjecting their brains to a lowered blood sugar with resultant coma and convulsions. For those who survived sufficiently to express still more anguish and resistance, lobotomy made the pacification more permanent. Each of these therapies works primarily by its assault on personal sovereignty, robbing the person of his mental capacities and subjecting him more easily to the control of others. Thus the *illusion* of increased personal freedom is created at the expense of personal sovereignty, without which the apparent freedom becomes an empty hoax.

This assault continued with growing ferocity until the 1950's with the advent of the tranquilizers, which produce *chemical* lobotomy, combined with a chemical paralysis, limiting both sovereignty and freedom in a most gross fashion. Recently reports are accumulating to the effect that these drugs can cause brain damage, making permanent many of these mental and physical symptoms and reducing some patients to chronic cripples with fog in their minds and stiffness in their nervous system.

Biologic psychiatry further justified institutional,

repressive psychiatry by declaring many forms of human misery and unhappiness to be caused by genetic defect and biologic inferiority. Thus far totally unproven, and hardly likely to find any substantiation in the future, these theories nonetheless carry the weight of truth in many circles. This despite the obvious absurdity of reducing personal and political problems to mechanical explanation. Altogether, the biological conception is rooted in determinism, that most dangerous enemy of libertarianism.

Now we are again witnessing a rejuvenation of genetic and biologic theories of so-called mental illness, along with their implementation in the extreme through eugenic sterilization, and severe biologic assaults, such as psychosurgery. It is important to remember that these approaches, supported by the world's leading authorities and medical journals, led eventually to the extermination of Germany's mental patients early in World War II as a prelude and first phase of the extermination of the Jews for equally "hygienic" reasons. This hygienic approach follows a natural progression, starting with the conviction that personal sovereignty and personal freedom are myths or expendable luxuries, and ending with the actual disregard for human life.

BEHAVIORISM

Behavioral psychiatry too is again growing in vogue, though like the others, its history is much older than one might suspect. It is rooted in academic psychology, and from the beginning has been part and parcel of psychological theories which assault personal freedom and individual self-determination. From the start, these theories have been used by psychiatrists to declare human beings objects devoid of free will and personal responsibility and hence fit subjects for control. In Russia, Pavlov carried these theories to the extreme and became the psychologic henchman for Russian materialism, determinism and totalitarianism. In the United States, we now find Skinner arguing against every aspect of "freedom and dignity" on the same behaviorist basis, and indeed, praising the Russian use of Pavlovian control in the 1950's. In every instance, we find behaviorism expressing an antilibertarian view of humans as objects devoid of personal sovereignty and personal freedom.

Behaviorism is rapidly becoming the most dangerous psychological expression and implementation of totalitarianism. It is now replacing Freudianism as the language for justifying control in psychiatry. This is perfectly illustrated by the evolution of Karl Menninger who in the 1930's wrote *Man Against Himself* invoking concepts like the "unconscious" to justify his control over the patient's life. By declaring the patient driven by "unconscious" drives, he made the patient a fit subject for Menninger's own controls. Now in his more up-to-date book, *The Crime of Punishment,* he relies almost entirely on a Skinnerian concept of life to justify doing away with due process in the courts while replacing it with "scientific" judgments by psychiatrists. Jose Delgado, a noted psychosurgeon, is still another behaviorist, using these principles to call for a "psychocivilized" state run by methods of psychiatric control.

PSYCHOANALYSIS

Meanwhile, *psychoanalytic* psychiatry has played but a small part in psychiatric history, at first offering the hope of a nonauthoritarian alternative, but eventually succumbing nearly in its entirety to totalitarian institutional psychiatry. Although this fact is expurgated from the education of young psychiatrists, Freud was *not* a psychiatrist. From the beginning, when he gave up his research in neuropathology, he was ostracized from the psychiatric-medical community. He set up his own autonomous Psychoanalytic Institutes to maintain his separation from the communities of academic medicine and psychology, and toward his last years, in his *Autobiography* and *The Question of Lay Analysis,* he argued that a medical degree should not be a requirement for the psychoanalyst. He suspected that medicine's interest in psychoanalysis was largely rapacious.

"There is a growing awareness in America that psychiatry poses a totalitarian threat."

Freud's fears have proven entirely realistic. Today the Psychoanalytic Institutes require training in psychiatry as a prerequisite, and it is almost impossible to become a psychoanalyst without first becoming a psychiatrist. Almost all psychoanalysts are therefore first trained in the assault on personal freedom and personal sovereignty through institutional psychiatry. They continue these institutional ties even after going into private psychoanalytic practice, and so trained and so affiliated with a totalitarian system, they can hardly practice their trade in another manner. Thus few psychoanalysts have supported the fight against psychiatric oppression.

Freud himself was confused on moral issues in general and libertarian ethics in particular. At times he seemed to put the individual's freedom above all else, as in his fight against those authoritarian deviations from psychoanalysis which encouraged "transference cures" based on the authority of the therapist and the dependence of the patient. But at other times, he couched his work in a pseudo-scientific language which robbed it of any moral and political essence. By doing this, he became a behaviorist who in part at least reduced the individual to the

status of an object lacking in free will, self-determination and moral and political responsibility. Nowadays it is typical to find psychoanalytic psychiatrists justifying all sorts of authoritarian interventions on the grounds that they can read the patient's unconscious wishes or have the answers to his psychoanalytic conflicts. (In the January 1974 REASON, Thomas Szasz described how this attitude has corrupted the ACLU itself, turning it into a promoter of the therapeutic state.)

VOLUNTARISM

There is a growing awareness in America that psychiatry poses a totalitarian threat. On the other hand, a voluntaristic psychiatry must be no different in its basic conception than a libertarian educational system, religion or social club. In a libertarian psychiatry, we simply maintain our original hierarchy of values—with personal freedom at the top. A voluntaristic psychiatry is merely the determination not to compromise freedom in the name of mental health. The psychiatrist must obviously refuse to cooperate with any involuntary treatment, even if the refusal to use force seems in some way contrary to the patient's immediate best interest. Libertarianism does not flow from the principle of paternalism or even from the principle of a pragmatic concern for individual welfare. It grows from a respect for freedom as the working principle of society.

"Personal sovereignty loses all meaning unless it is assumed to exist in everyone."

In my own view, a truly voluntaristic psychiatry must also concern itself solely with techniques which enhance personal sovereignty—or the inherent *capacity* and *desire* for personal freedom. A libertarian psychiatrist *may* decide never to use drugs, electroshock or psychosurgery, if he believes as I do, that they can only work by blunting personal sovereignty. Similarly, he will scrutinize his verbal techniques to rid them of any vestiges of authoritarianism and paternalism.

On the other hand, a libertarian therapist would *not* interfere with a patient's right to seek elsewhere any therapy which he freely chooses for himself, even drugs, electroshock, or psychosurgery, however personally offensive or wrong-headed they may appear to the therapist. Thus the Center for the Study of Psychiatry, which I helped found, no longer seeks to *outlaw* psychosurgery but instead encourages malpractice suits when patients have been operated on involuntarily or without fully informed consent.

(Occasionally individuals ask if I don't infringe on the patient's liberty when I refuse to give him drugs or electroshock. Most certainly not. Instead, it would be an infringement on *my* liberty if I were compelled to offer services which I consider unethical and unsound. It would also be unethical for me to offer techniques which I ultimately believe to be harmful.)

From what I am saying, it should be apparent that I do not envision a single, stereotyped form of voluntaristic therapy, but rather a set of principles from which a variety of therapies can be derived. Some may choose the psychoanalytic model of human problems as improved upon by Thomas Szasz. Others might want a more spiritually oriented therapy. Some might prefer to work individually, others in groups. Libertarian therapies are those consistent with libertarian principle, nothing more and nothing less, and within that category in a free society one would undoubtedly discover a flourishing variety of approaches. Such is human nature that in a free society there will be much opportunity for honest disagreements and for a variety of services.

TRAPS

The degree to which "psychiatric humanitarianism" has permeated western thinking is reflected in my experience that some otherwise consistent libertarians nonetheless drop their love for freedom in favor of paternalism when dealing with psychiatric issues. Thus an otherwise thorough libertarian will challenge me with the question, "But what if the individual does not *have* personal sovereignty?" This is the equivalent of the political-economic question, "What if the person can't compete or can't make it in a free society?" By putting his politics in one pocket and his psychiatry in the other, the half-hearted libertarian in effect says freedom is good—for *some* people. Once this compromise is made, the entire system of freedom collapses. This is nowhere better illustrated than in psychiatry where the humanitarian "concern for others" leads to incarceration of uncounted millions of mental patients in the western world each year.

Put another way, personal sovereignty loses all meaning unless it is assumed to exist in every one. As soon as one person is allowed to judge another person's sovereignty, that other person automatically *loses* his sovereignty. That is a fixed principle. Sovereignty, like freedom, is not granted to people, but exists as an *inherent attribute* of people. It is a natural right, a given, a first premise. When the psychiatrist takes it on himself to decide who is personally sovereign or "mentally healthy" he usurps both personal sovereignty and personal freedom by making it subject to his whims and his will.

This does not mean that we fail to accept the reality of differences among individuals. Any sophisticated person knows that individuals will vary enormously in their capacity or their willingness to make

the most of their inherent personal sovereignty and personal freedom. But once an attempt is made to compensate for this by involuntary treatment we have destroyed the very foundations of freedom. We have a therapeutic state rather than a libertarian society.

Libertarianism can be justified from a practical viewpoint as well as from first principles, and the same holds for a libertarian, voluntaristic psychiatry. In brief, one can look at the consequences of *involuntary* psychiatry, and see in them all the consequences of totalitarianism—manipulation of the person as an object, oppression, inhumanity, and ultimately, a tendency for the totalitarian to seek ever more power for himself, moving us toward a therapeutic state. Compromise with libertarianism simply doesn't work. It merely leads to more compromise, and ultimately, to the loss of ever more freedom.

RELEASE

What then do we do about individuals whom we now commit to state mental hospitals? This question is little different from "What do we do with welfare recipients?" or "What do we do with the poor?"—for in fact most mental patients are poor people. What we must do, of course, is encourage a free society in which each person will have the opportunity to make the most of his life. Committing people to large state hospital lock-ups for their own good is the very essence of the *problem,* not the solution. It is paternalistic statism; it is this totalitarian solution that has caused the problem in the first place, by robbing the economic and political system of its vitality.

What about the violent patient then? First, it must be acknowledged, as Bruce Ennis has so well shown in *Prisoners of Psychiatry,* that the mental patient population as a whole is dependent and passive, not violent, and that violence is less common among mental patients than among the general population. Second, we must see that dealing with violence by psychiatric commitment is the ultimate in totalitarianism. A person who is alleged to be violent should be given the protections inherent in the criminal law, and not be subject to the vagaries of personal law as laid down by psychiatrists under commitment proceedings. Ultimately, the convicted criminal should be sent to jail, not to a mental hospital.

If this seems cruel, consider that most prisoners would prefer jail to a mental hospital. This is in part because prison terms are generally shorter than hospital commitments when crimes of violence are involved, for the parole board must work within a prescribed sentence while the psychiatrist is left with total responsibility for the person's future. The psychiatrist is likely to keep the person for fear he will do something wrong again, while the parole board knows the sentence must sometime end. If we feel prisons are terrible places, as they are, then we must reform them. Do not instead use involuntary commitment to mental hospitals as an alternative still more threatening to personal freedom.

But what about the dangerous person who has committed no crime and hence is not subject to criminal prosecution? In a society which values freedom, freedom must not be compromised by a need for security. Mental hospitalization of the potential criminal is "preventive detention" at its worst. It has no place in a constitutional republic such as ours, let alone in a libertarian society.

At the present time, it is extremely difficult to pursue the practice of voluntaristic therapy. The laws of the states and malpractice case law require the physician to incarcerate or otherwise control his client at moments when the client is dangerous to himself or to others, or sometimes is merely "mentally ill" by ordinary psychiatric standards. Libertarian therapists can and do defy these legal responsibilities in our private practices. But it is impossible to run an institution, such as a voluntary hospital or a voluntary retreat, in defiance of these requirements. Therefore, there is no truly voluntary psychiatry on an institutional level in America today.

"Mental hospitalization of the potential *criminal is 'preventive detention' at its worst."*

Until all involuntary treatment is ended, the practitioner of private office therapy will always hold a potential legal gun to their patient's head, and practitioners of institutional therapy will be forced to coerce some of their patients. *The first goal of libertarian psychiatry must therefore be the abolition of all involuntary treatment.* Once this aim is achieved, truly libertarian alternatives will begin to flourish in competition with each other. ◘

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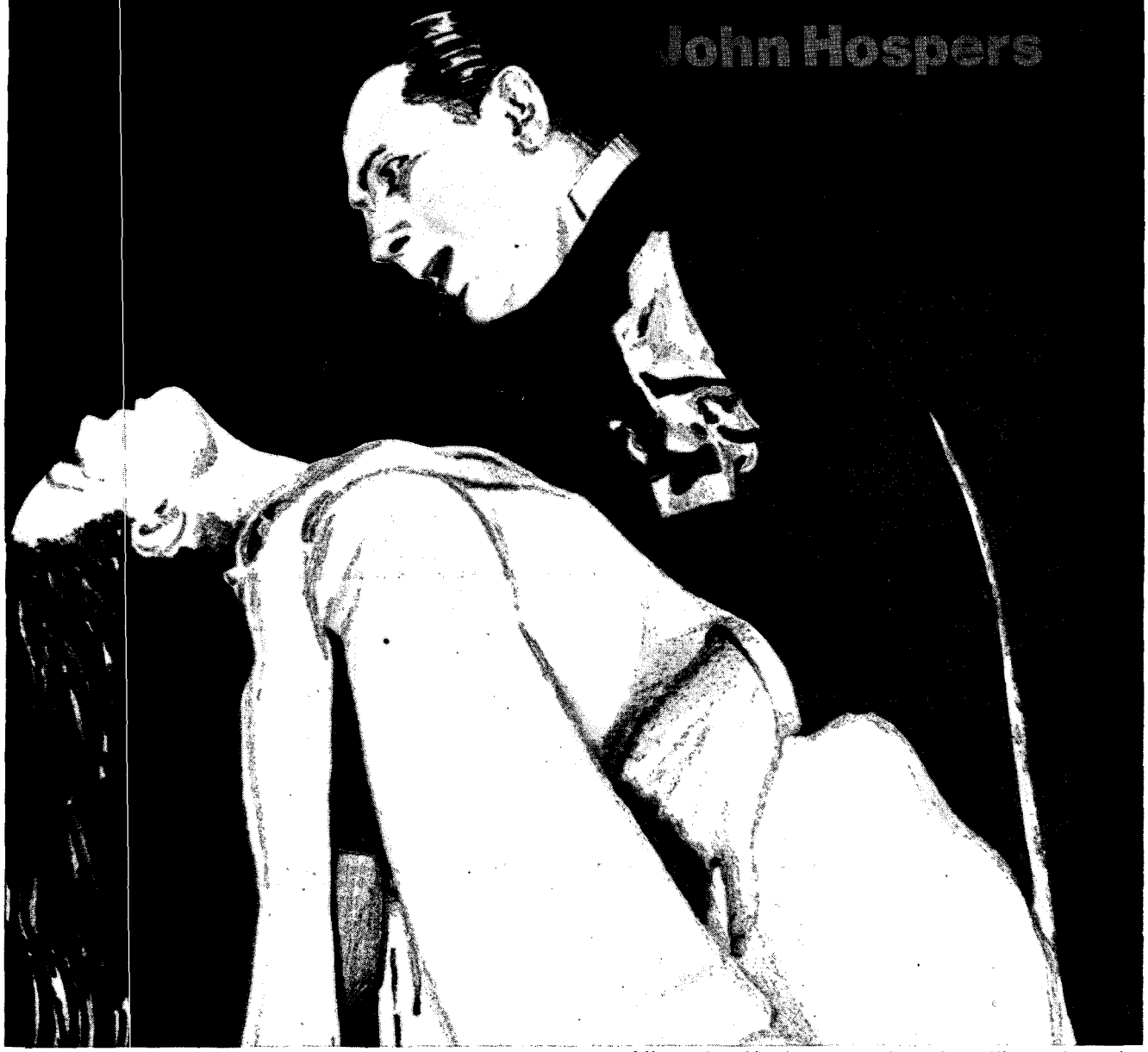
John Hospers



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Albert Jay Nock was an American libertarian who wrote in the 1920's when there was no Libertarian Party and very few people expressing libertarian ideas. In his book *Our Enemy the State* he made a division of all mankind into two classes: the exploited and the exploiters. If this seems to have a Marxist ring, wait a moment: the exploited class are those

who trade their goods and services with others on the free market, and who are forced to turn over a portion of their earnings to government. This includes farmers, laborers, managers, industrialists—everyone who is a part of the vast machine of production. The exploiters are those who are on the receiving end of this bounty, which the work of the producing class makes possible; this includes everyone who receives a government check, whether in the form of government subsidies or in the form of wages to sustain the coercive machinery of government, particularly the government bureaucrats who administer the looting of the productive class and determine how and upon whom the expropriated income is to be spent.

The history of nations is finally decided by the relation between these two groups of people. History is a tug-of-war between the two classes: the one, who want to retain the fruits of their labor, and the other, who would forcibly take it away from them; the one, who would prefer to determine the course of their own lives by their own free choices, and the other, who want to determine it for them via taxation and regulation, and use the victims' earnings to do it.

In dictatorships, the dominance of government is achieved through the barrel of a gun, and the populace has very little to say about it. But in a democratic state, where at least some of the officials of government must be voted into office, the people have to be led into thinking that big government is good for them—they must be convinced that it is needed for protection, or for the promotion of their welfare, or for handouts which they would not otherwise receive.

Throughout history, the tendency of governments once established is to take an ever higher percentage of the earnings of the productive class and appropriate it for use by their own class, under the guise of providing security for everyone. After all, government already has the physical power to take by force, and it always finds an occasion for extending the scope of its own activities and thus narrowing the scope (and the freedom) of the productive citizens whose incomes they must tap in order to remain in existence. The tendency of the parasites is to swell to a larger size than those upon whom they are parasitic. Though the exploiters depend totally upon the activities of the exploited—who provide the food, the shelter, the thousand daily needs of the citizens, including the salaries of the exploiters—the exploiters nevertheless do not hesitate to expand their own activities of taxation and regulation, thereby leaving the exploited less liberty and less economic means by which to live.

But when this process of swelling parasitism has reached a certain point, the entire nation suffers economic collapse because the government tries to provide for its own employees and their cronies, and the large bloc of voters who perpetuate them in office, more of the fruits of production than the productive class are able to deliver. And when it is no longer worth the producers' while to produce, when they are taxed so highly to keep the politicians and their friends on the public payroll that they themselves no longer have a reasonable chance of success in any economic enterprise, then of course production grinds to a halt. Everyone tends to limit their production to what they need for their daily consumption, and the goods no longer reach the marketplace. When this happens, when the producers can no longer sustain on their backs the increasing load of the parasites, then the activities of the parasites must stop also, but usually not before they have brought down the entire social structure which the producers' activities have created. When the organism dies, the parasite necessarily dies too, but not until the organism has paid for the presence of the parasite with its life. It is in just this way that the major civilizations of the world have collapsed.

LIMITED GOVERNMENT

The Founding Fathers of the United States were very much aware of this fatal tendency of governments to expand and thus dry up the sources on which they depend. That is why they limited the operation of the American government to certain specific delimited functions: a legislative branch to pass laws in limited areas, an executive branch to enforce them, and a judicial branch to arbitrate disputes. And that's about all. They specified certain functions under these headings, such as the minting of money, the establishment of legal tender, and the creation of a Federal post office—all of which I think were mistakes; I don't think that government can be trusted with any of these activities. At any rate, the Federal Government was limited to only those functions explicitly provided for in the Constitution, and as for the rest, the attitude was "Hands off! We don't trust you!"

But as we all know 200 years later, the functions of government in the United States have constantly expanded through the years. The Constitution has been continually violated, and the courts have usually upheld the violators. As the American statesman John C. Calhoun noted in his treatise *On Government,* the courts, particularly the Supreme Court, are themselves branches of government, and can usually be depended on to vote for an expansion of the power of the governmental structure of which they themselves are a part. And so, government is now in the business of education, of agriculture, of welfare, of regulation of everybody, of subsidies in all directions to every group that screams for money earned by others, and of a thousand projects so ridiculous that only the mentalities of bureaucrats could conceive and execute them. The regulations under which every farmer, every worker, and every businessman today must operate are so detailed, so all-encompassing, so demoralizing, and often so unintelligible, that if any of the Founding Fathers were to read the 1974 tax laws they would exclaim, "Is this what's happening

under *our* Constitution? Is this really the United States of America?"

All these programs, these subsidies to special interest groups, these robbings of Peter to pay Paul, as well as the regulations that tie the hands of one group supposedly to benefit another, seem to me thoroughly and completely unconstitutional. I find nothing in the Constitution which grants the Federal Government such powers. The "general welfare" clause does not, and was never intended to, permit the Federal Government to take billions from some who work to give to others who do not. As for the subsidies to special interest groups, they are simply an obscenity. When a farmer was fined for raising more grain than the Dept. of Agriculture said he was permitted to, he was taken to court, and the Supreme Court of the United States sustained the indictment against him, saying, "The Federal Government has the right to regulate that which it subsidizes." This shocking verdict, which has been a precedent for many others like it, has permitted government to enter into virtually every line of human endeavor. (Incidentally, what gave government the right to subsidize in the first place?) And what do you suppose the Founding Fathers would have thought had they known that many citizens would work 6, 8, or even 10 months out of every year to support not themselves but the government?

"The exploited class are those who trade their goods and services with others on the free market, and who are forced to turn over a portion of their earnings to government."

Yes, the America of today would be simply unrecognizable to those living only a century ago. Gradually liberty has been destroyed in favor of security—or the illusion of security, since of course there is no true security like that which you can provide for yourself, independently of the promises and threats of governments. But those who have grown up in the last two decades seldom see the danger—they have never experienced anything but the American socialist state, and as a rule they are not even aware that any alternatives exist.

And so the government, now grown fat and bloated like a huge clumsy hippopotamus, accustomed to being fed the first fruits of all our labors, wants to exact more and more from us with every passing year. In fact, if one examines the projected figures in some of the government planning bureaus, it now would like to take from us more than with all our combined efforts we are able to produce. The kidnaper demands a larger ransom than our entire assets can provide. And we, who have lived our lives on the assumption that we can plan for the future and get a fair return for our labor, are caught in the crush. Our day to day decisions, our very lives, are now in the hands of the regulators who determine who gets how much of what and for whom.

MONSTER

How, we may wonder, has all this happened to a political structure which was designed to ensure the very opposite? How has the citizen's servant grown into an all-devouring monster? Obviously, it didn't happen overnight. Through the years mistake has been piled on mistake, blunder upon blunder, short-sighted expediency on top of confused judgment, until today it would require tons of blasting just to get the barnacles off the ship of state. After the waste of billions of dollars under the New Deal, followed by the great expenditures of World War II, it was thought that the cost of government operations would at last decline. Instead, they kept creeping upward, as one pressure group after another attached itself to the spigot of government funds. The war hadn't been paid for, the New Deal hadn't been paid for (in fact they haven't been paid for *to this day!*), but the Congress nevertheless appropriated more money for vast new spending programs without even having paid for the old ones: the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Job Corps, the huge interlocking network of welfare agencies in H.E.W. by which the same person can claim unearned benefits from as many as 13 different government agencies at the same time—all were enacted into law, and of course they all required tremendous amounts of money, yours and mine.

Where was it all going to come from? (1) There are limits to direct taxation. If all of 1975's expenses had to be paid for out of 1975 taxes, people would see that they had very little left for themselves, and in a fury of indignation they would throw out of office the government that passed such laws. People had to be fed the delusion that they were getting something but not really paying for it.(2) The national debt was also increased. What this means is that you consume now and your children and grandchildren will be stuck with the bill. We have now been doing that for a little more than a generation, living on credit and piling up new debts when the old ones become due. (3) But the third and principal source of revenue is inflation—innumerable reams of printing-press money. Most people haven't read any history or economics; they don't know that inflation is the biggest killer of civilizations, even more than war itself. Besides, inflation is very tempting because its effects are not felt immediately. And so, you get a central bank (the U.S. got this in 1913 when the Federal Reserve was created), you endow it with great powers, you have it expand the money supply every time Congress appropriates (that is, expropriates) more money than the treasury contains. But as we know, every time

you do this the money is worth less, and the appropriations get higher, and more inflation follows, and so on in a vicious cycle.

By 1962 the U.S. government had arrived at approximately the point that Great Britain had with the advent of the Labor Government in 1945. An upper limit to taxation had been reached, at least for a democracy. "Soak the rich" policies had been in operation for some time, but pretty soon the rich had been fairly well soaked—today even if every millionaire were soaked 100 percent of his annual income, this wouldn't run the government for half a day out of the whole year. So what could you do? To whom now can you turn to replace the cookies that one group after another has stolen out of the cookie-jar? The obvious answer would be: don't take more cookies out—cut the spending.

SOMETHING FOR NOTHING

But now there was a problem. By this time there were millions of people demanding government relief, government education, government subsidies for their own projects, and all these people would scream their heads off and vote you out of office if you turned off the tap of expropriated money; in fact they expected you to give them *more* benefits while still not raising *their* taxes. And so the government was involved in a dilemma which it created but could no longer control. People had learned to demand things for nothing from government and were not about to take any diminution in their standard of living without a murmur. And the planners had made their plans far in advance: H.E.W. Sec. Casper Weinberger said in a magazine interview that over 80 percent of the entire Federal budget is committed far in advance—for example, there are Federal housing projects already contracted for through the year 2015.

So there wasn't much future, apparently, in trying to reduce government expenditures. But it was equally awkward to have to pay for them. Caught in this bind, there seemed to be only one way out: continue the expenditures and inflate the currency. Unhappily this very "solution" had been thought of many times before in human history, and it is the time-bomb that has destroyed many previously flourishing civilizations. Nevertheless this brilliant solution kept moving into higher gear during the Johnson "Great Society" years, and Johnson was reelected in a landslide as more and more people got a piece of the plunder. Inflation kept moving upward as the money supply increased, but most people still didn't see the connection between the spending and the inflation. By and large they accepted the government line that big business, big labor, and unidentified villainous speculators were to blame for the inflation —though nobody explained quite how. If only government would get rid of these greedy businessmen, people thought, things would be all right again.

Meanwhile the number of people feeding at the government trough kept increasing. Not all of them wanted to, but in these matters a chain-reaction sets in: A says, "If B and C and D are getting it, I may as well go in for some too while the getting is good. Besides, it's partly my earnings they're getting." Federal deficits amounted to a little over 12 billion dollars during the decade of the 1950's; they more than quadrupled during the 1960's; and they were almost 90 billion during Nixon's administration alone. But even these stupendous amounts were not enough to finance the ballooning requirements of the American socialist state. Today there are over 13 million bureaucrats on the government payroll eating up your income, and since they've got by with it thus far they want to expand their operations and eat up even more. Today there are almost *20 million* people receiving welfare checks—more than twice that number if you consider all kinds of welfare—and this number too keeps increasing, as well as the amount they receive each month, and all this comes out of your pocketbook—you have to work that much harder every week just to stay where you were, because of what they take out of what you produce. And there are almost 40 million people receiving social security checks—and in spite of every worker and every employer being forced to pay more every year into this fund, its total balance is zero: the money has all been spent, and the whole system is a bunch of IOU's drawn against the power to tax in the future. It is estimated that the claims on the social security fund by those who are now paying into it will amount to over a trillion dollars. How is it going to be supplied?

"The courts, particularly the Supreme Court, are themselves branches of government, and can usually be depended upon to vote for an expansion of the power of the governmental structure of which they themselves are a part."

INFLATION

For the immediate future, it will come primarily from inflation, with consequent dollar-erosion. The steam-roller cannot stop as long as the government spending programs continue. And the Houses of Congress, even in the face of fiscal disaster, show not the slightest sign of cutting the spending. Far from cutting spending, they are embarked on new programs for spending still more, such as nationalized medical care, which if enacted will cost incalculable billions through the years. Government has caused such dislocations in the economy that it has created most of the poverty that exists, and yet in order to "correct" that poverty it proposes to spend *still more*—and most of the populace blindly goes along: if

even a small cut in the schemes of legalized looting were made, the screaming would be so loud that the heavens would crack at the noise.

So, for the present at least, water will continue to run downhill and inflation will continue. But as it does, the danger mounts. People's earnings shrivel up and turn worthless in their hands; and some of them will discover where the blame really lies. Meanwhile, more people start to catch on: they see how their real savings evaporate, and so the flight from paper money begins. They don't want to be stuck with life insurance policies and retirement plans which will pay them back in worthless dollars, in return for the hard-earned dollars they put in. So they stock up on what products they can now while these are still obtainable at present prices. People begin to see that the money they've saved through the years won't even keep them in dill pickles when the crunch comes, and so the greatest of all American economic institutions, private saving, begins to dry up. They observe too that the rate of interest doesn't keep up with the cost of living—so why lend money at interest?—and accordingly whole enterprises which depend on long-term loans, such as the building industry, begin to collapse, and countless people are laid off and businesses go bankrupt because of these economic dislocations brought about by government.

"The 'general welfare' clause does not, and was never intended to, permit the Federal Government to take billions from some who work to give to others who do not."

Where will it all end? It *can* end in the total destruction of the currency, the market being reduced to primitive barter of products in lieu of money. But I suspect that we shall not go that far: at the brink of the precipice the government may enact currency reform and curtail its spending. Perhaps the widely rumored redbacks already printed will replace the present greenbacks at 1 for 100. And cutting the inflation will necessarily mean a depression, as the economy readjusts itself after more than four decades of a drunken orgy of spending. In such a depression most of the present bloated spending programs will have to go: there won't be enough water falling over the dam to keep the energy going beyond a trickle, and all those eagerly waiting below just can't be supplied. And all this will be very painful, very hard on many people, especially those who had placed their faith in government to sustain them in time of need—and most of the people who will be wiped out just won't understand. They will probably blame capitalism again, just as they did in 1929, and of course the government officials will encourage them in this belief, just as they did then. And if this piece of vicious propaganda leads to more legislation against the producing class, already beaten down, the depression will be prolonged for perhaps a generation. After all, when productive enterprises are shackled, they can't produce efficiently, and quite understandably they don't have much motivation to do so—why should they put forth the effort and the planning and the risk of capital when the government simply skims the cream off of all their labors and takes most of the milk besides? So if the parasites clobber the producers again, it may be curtains for both of them, just as it was for Greece and Rome.

RECOVERY?

But we did recover from the 1929 depression, didn't we? Yes, we did, in a way—if you can call the economy of credit, recovery. But there are several ominous differences between today and 1929. (1) In 1929 the U.S. had gold to back up its paper; today the currency is covered by gold only by about three percent. Not much to bargain with on the international market, is it? If you were an Arab would you accept this trade from an American: "Give us your oil and we'll give you our green paper in exchange, in fact we'll even print up some more of it for you"? (2) In 1929 there was no gigantic Federal debt; today of course there is, and the interest payments alone on that debt amount to almost 20 billion dollars a year; goodness knows when we'll get around to the principal. (3) But most important of all, the climate of opinion is vastly different from what it was in 1929; the whole mentality is different. There have now been over 40 years of the welfare state; people who grew up and lived in liberty and independence have died off, and been replaced by those who expect the government to support them, and militantly demand this as their right. They will keep fighting each other for more at the public trough even as the supply is running dry. Even when the productive class has been squeezed of all it can deliver, these recipients will curse the producers for not providing more. Students in state colleges and universities, paying little or no tuition and living in subsidized dormitories, will demand to continue being supported in the style to which they have become accustomed. They will probably burn down buildings rather than see these benefits stop coming. And what do you think it likely that people on the receiving end of government checks will do? Will they passively give them up, saying, "Well, it was nice while it lasted"? No, I think they will not be peaceful as they were in the 1929 depression; they will riot in the streets, loot and if necessary kill, if the benefits they demand don't keep coming their way. They don't understand that they themselves have dried up the sources; they haven't learned that there's no such thing as a free lunch.

And if this happens, how will Washington respond?

If it responds by squeezing the last drop out of the producing class, even the trickle of production will stop, and there will be widespread want and starvation because there will be no one to supply these needs in the marketplace. More likely, they will leave the producers just enough to keep them producing, even though at a minimum level of efficiency. But the creative minds will not go into production any more—not of building or food or medical supplies or new research, or other necessities or luxuries of life—because the government will siphon off the fruits of the marketplace at their source.

In fact, faced with violence and looting, many of the producers themselves will turn to the government in order to get "law and order" even if they can no longer get prosperity or even a fair return for their labor. There is ample historical precedent for this last step, with the controlled society replacing the free society because of the violence of the looters when there is no longer enough left to loot. Producers would usually rather settle for a poverty-stricken existence than risk no existence at all.

The details may vary because of a thousand unforeseeable circumstances, but we can see what the general pattern is. The parasites (i.e. the looters) take more and more from the producers upon whom they depend, until they control their lives and their work, allowing them to retain just enough to keep them producing; and thus the parasites stay in power, and either the whole structure collapses through the destruction of the productive class, or the productive machine keeps functioning at a low level of efficiency.

There is only one way I know of to break this pattern; this is to have an educated citizenry—educated enough in at least the economic facts-of-life to know what the danger signals are, and never give in to the slightest temptation to violate the right of each person to the product of his labor. But it is certain that the American citizenry is not acquainted with these facts-of-life today—no, not in the streets, nor in the shops, nor in the state capitals, nor in Washington, nor on the college campuses of America. The welfare mentality continues to flourish.

THE FUTURE

Is this, then, the end of the American dream? Beginning with control by each individual over his own life, must it end with control by government over his life? No, the end is not inevitable: people have free-will, and they have the power to throw out of office every politician who votes the measures which are leading our country to the brink of the fatal precipice. But let us ask in all honesty, is it likely that the voters of America today will do this? Unfortunately it seems to me that it is not. A great deal more suffering will have to take place before dire necessity forces the looters to relinquish their stranglehold. How likely do you think it is at this moment, with every pressure group clamoring for more subsidies from government, and threatening not to re-elect their congressmen if they don't get what they want, that the congressmen will vote to abolish or even reduce the subsidies? Once the welfare mentality has begun, it is next to impossible to reverse it. The only real sign of reversal that I see on the horizon lies in the Libertarian Party. At the moment, though it is growing, it is not yet able to change the course of our culture; in another couple of decades, hopefully it will be. But it is a race against time, and by that time economic catastrophe may already have overtaken us.

For the immediate present, we face *more* regulation, *more* strangulation by government, *more* control over our activities, *more* inflation, and consequently the gradual *worthlessness* of everything we have saved for the future. What a legacy this is to leave to our children! What will the next generation of Americans think (those who think at all) of this one for what has been done to them before their lives were fairly started? Under what handicaps will they live, what loss of liberty will they suffer, because of the tragic mistakes, hundreds of them one after another, of those in power in America in the 1930's, 40's, 50's and 60's?

"While we are condemning the acts of the looters' governments, let's not forget all those people whose votes put into power the governments that performed those acts."

Well, the producers tried. They tried like Atlas to support the world, shackled as they were, and as a reward their shackles were doubled. And if you are a producer and you see the trend, and if in the end the worst happens, don't ever forget what happened, and who did it to you!

One last thought: don't blame only the politicians and bureaucrats. Behind the bureaucrat lies the politician who created his job, and behind the politician lies the voter who elected him to office—perhaps out of blind ignorance, perhaps in hopes of getting some of his own free loot from the public trough. While we are condemning the acts of the looters' governments, let's not forget all those people whose votes put into power the governments that performed these acts. Among the millions of voters who helped get the avalanche started, were there, perhaps, once upon a time, you and I? ◻

COMMITTEE FOR AN

ECONOMIC BILL OF RIGHTS

To the Constitution of the United States

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SECTION 1. The Right to Trade

Congress shall make no law restricting the freedom of wages and prices nor authorizing commodity allocations. The right of citizens to make contracts and to trade freely among themselves shall not be abridged.

SECTION 2. The Right to a Strong Currency

It shall be the policy of the Treasury of the United States to stabilize the supply of cash notes and Federal credit in circulation, and thereby to preserve and increase the purchasing power of the currency of the United States.

SECTION 3. The Right to Local Control of Taxes

On the fourth day of July in the year following the year of ratification of this article, the sixteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States shall be repealed. A levy of taxation sufficient to discharge the financial obligations of the Federal government shall be apportioned among the several States by Congress annually as the first act of each session, but the power of direct taxation shall be reserved to the several States. Congress shall not impose any tax on the property or income of citizens of the United States, nor shall any internal revenue service be maintained.

SECTION 4. The Right to Business Competition

The Government of the United States, or of any State, shall not, through any law or administrative action, prevent or forbid any person or corporation from offering for legitimate sale or from lowering the sale price of whatever goods or services may be commercially traded.

IF YOU SUPPORT THIS PROPOSAL SEND YOUR NAME TO THE COMMITTEE

Making a Monkey out of Free & Democratic Elections

Monroe H Freedman

Let's say we wanted to set up one of those fake democracies in which a written constitution appears to guarantee "free and democratic elections," but where that basic right is effectively restricted by a variety of devices.

One such device that we might try would be to create a central governmental commission (let's call it the FEC) which would have the power to maintain dossiers on every group of people that in any way attempts to influence the outcome of elections or to influence public opinion on matters of governmental policy or concern. We could even include groups who do nothing more than publish candidates' positions on public issues, their voting records, or other public acts of public officials.

Every such group would be required to register with the FEC, to file regular reports with it (as many as 13 a year) and to include in those reports the full names and addresses of everyone who contributed more than $100 to the group. And, to tighten the screw one more turn, we could include the occupation and business address of each such contributor. In addition, if the group took in or spent more than $1,000 a year, it would be required to maintain, and produce upon demand, the full names and addresses of all contributors of more than $10. Also, in order not to miss those independent souls who might, on their own, print up and distribute $100-worth of handbills, they too should be required to register.

Our purpose, of course, would be not only to maintain political dossiers, but also to discourage political activity altogether. Accordingly, we should require that every such group must put on the face or front page of any of its literature soliciting contributions the following notice: "A copy of our report containing the names, addresses, occupations, and business addresses of contributors is filed with the FEC and is available for purchase by anyone from the FEC." If we do that, we can be sure that substantial numbers of people will be inhibited from contributing to political groups, particularly those supporting dissident viewpoints.

Another nice touch would be to give the FEC other large powers over political association and activity. The Commission should be able to conduct investigations and hearings, require any person to submit whatever reports and answers the FEC may prescribe, subpoena witnesses and documents, administer oaths, order testimony to be taken by deposition, seek injunctions against political activities of which the FEC disapproves, and, of course, write its own rules.

Don't look now, but 1984 arrived early this year. That extraordinary system of political data-gathering, maintenance, and disclosure has already been adopted by the Congress of the United States, in the Federal Election Campaign Acts of 1971 and 1974. The full name of the FEC is the Federal Election Commission, and it has the vast and chilling powers that I have described.

That perverse legislation derives from some perverse reasoning. In the course of the events known as Watergate, the political system worked so well that numerous instances of illicit contributions and expenditures were exposed, and large numbers of people, including even the Vice President, were prosecuted and convicted under laws already on the books. *Obviously,* therefore, what we needed were additional laws that would accomplish the same ends, but which, at the same time, would severely inhibit innumerable other people, who were doing nothing illicit, from getting actively involved in the electoral process. The maxim seems to be, "Don't support the candidates of your choice—it will only encourage them."

Of course, bribes will continue to pass and influence will still be peddled, despite the naive expectation that the bad guys will dutifully line up and file their reports along with the rest of us. At the same time, however, in the dubious name of "election campaign reform," we have managed to make a monkey out of the idea of free and democratic elections. ◻

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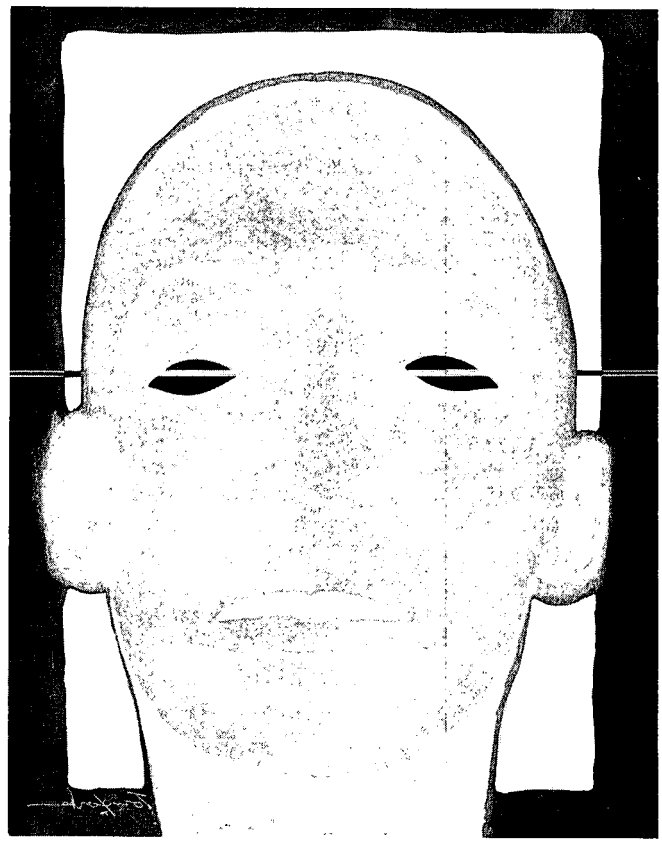
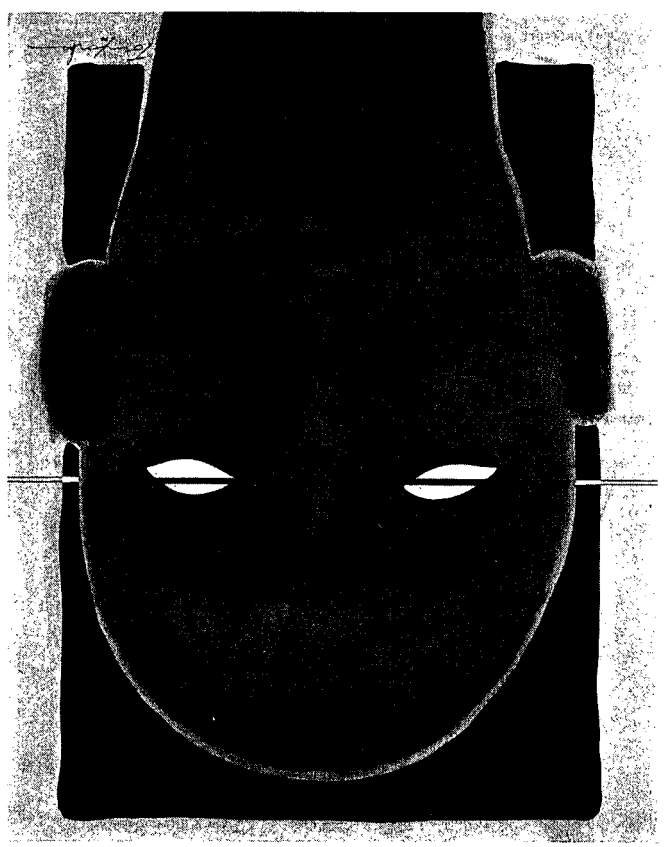


Response to the Rape of the Black Mind



Anne Wortham

Few persons identifying themselves as libertarians would disagree that racism is wrong—individualism and a desire to treat persons on the basis of merit rather than on such accidents as skin color seems to go along with a commitment to the libertarian political philosophy. However, racism as a topic has seldom been dealt with in the libertarian literature: writers have been much more fascinated by black flags than by black persons. This stems in part from few libertarians being affected by racist attitudes: very few blacks have gotten involved in any way with "the libertarian movement."

Happily this situation seems to be changing and REASON is pleased to further a discussion of the causes, cures, effects and modes of analysis of racism in modern society. To that end we published, in the January 1975 issue, an article by libertarian author and activist Susan Love Brown, entitled "The Rape of the Black Mind," in which she argued that blacks are still suffering from the effects of slavery and years of accepting collectivist doctrines and will need to overcome those attitudes in order to achieve a truly nonracist society. The article which follows, by author Anne Wortham, takes issue with some of Ms. Brown's analysis.

When I received the January issue of REASON and saw the title of Susan Love Brown's article, "The Rape Of The Black Mind," advertised on the cover, my first impulse was to dash off a single-sentence note to the author: "Check your premises!" But that was only my reaction to the title and I thought it prudent and just to read the article before rendering a final judgment. If I had read only the last part of Ms. Brown's article I would have been pleased by her perceptive statements regarding the tendency of many (but not most) blacks to seek freedom by collectivist means. But when I tried to apply the statements on these pages to those in the first part of the article, I found the premises of each standing in contradiction to each other. Basically, Brown's conclusions may be stated as follows: *It is a mistake for blacks to attempt to achieve freedom by means of collectivism, but it's not their fault that they've made that choice; the fault lies in psycho-cultural and political reinforcers.*

During these days when the world is so much in need of a rational view of reality, it is imperative that spokesmen for individual freedom know their subject matter—that their ideas be formulated on a firm epistemological base. I found several flaws in Brown's presentation that I feel must not go unnoticed and unchallenged.

RAPE OF THE MIND

Entailed in the suggestion that "the black mind was raped" are two erroneous assumptions, both being products of the doctrine of determinism:

(a) that there is such a thing as a collective mind—e.g., "black" mind—and that such an arbitrary classification of man's mind has cognitive significance;

(b) that the lack of self-awareness, self-regulation and self-assertiveness—i.e., self-esteem—is a state of mind caused by forces beyond one's control; that one's mind is somehow "raped" or "slaughtered" by calculating oppressors, one's family, or the culture around him.

Both errors disregard volition and free will as the motor of man's reasoning and its role in man's psycho-intellectual development. If Brown truly understood the nature of self-esteem, as exposited by psychologist Nathaniel Branden (whom she quotes), she would have also grasped the fact that whatever has been done to the minds of the blacks, "rape" is not the proper analogy. In answer to the question "Raped by whom or what?" Brown tells us that slavery and racism were the assailants; that "the black mind" was deprived of the image of itself; and that this deprivation "has been externally reinforced since

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the days of slavery primarily in two ways: culturally and politically."

Quite a different view of man's relationship to his social environment is presented by Branden in the following statements:

> A man's social environment can provide incentives to think or it can make the task harder—according to the degree of human rationality or irrationality that a man encounters. But the social environment cannot *determine* a man's thinking or nonthinking. . . . The social environment can provide him with the incentives for good or evil, but . . . an incentive is not a necessitating cause. The environment consists only of facts; the meaning of those facts—the conclusions and convictions to be drawn from them—can be identified only by a man's mind. A man's character, the degree of his rationality, independence, honesty, is determined, not by the things he perceives, but by the thinking he does or fails to do about them. [1]

While Brown acknowledges "the psychological enslavement to which all collectivists inevitably *subject themselves*" (emphasis mine), she offers a picture of slaves being passively cast in a mold of self-immolation by forces they had no control over. "The institution of slavery," she tells us, "set up a psychological slavery in the minds of blacks that lasted even after their physical chains were taken away." Man's self-identity may be evaded by others, but they cannot shape it; only *he* has the power to create the personality and character from which self-identity is derived. To quote Branden again:

> When a man defaults on the responsibility of thought, he is left at the mercy of his involuntary, subconscious reactions—and *these* will be at the mercy of the outside forces impinging upon him, at the mercy of whoever and whatever is around him. By his default, such a person turns himself into the social determinists' view of man: into an empty mold waiting to be filled, into a will-less robot waiting to be taken over by any environment and any conditioners. [2]

> *"Physical or political enslavement is involuntary* – always. *Psychological enslavement (of otherwise healthy men) is involuntary* – always."

The institution of slavery certainly frustrated every slave's need for self-identity; but the *creation* of an authentic self was the *inalienable* responsibility of each bondsman unto himself. Some slaves rose above the frustrations; others shrank beneath them. But in either case, it was *not* the institution of slavery that had the last word, but each man himself. Slavery and racism are too quickly identified as the *sine qua non* of an undermined self-esteem in many Negroes, with no thought given to the fact that an undermined self-esteem is the consequence of *inappropriate* responses to an irrational social environment. A man without self-esteem cannot respond rationally to physical bondage or racism.

If we are to believe the interpretations of slavery that Brown presents in her choice of references (interpretations that call the self-definition that many slaves achieved "accidental" or "unimportant"; that view of self-hatred of slaves as "unique"; and that bypass the conceptual identity of man by implying that there was no internal, if not external, resistance to the irrationality of oppression), how, then, can we explain the nature of those slaves who maintained their self-identity in spite of the lack of positive confirmation of this fact from the whites they served? How do we account for the passionate desire for freedom expressed in the many sermons, the music, poetry and stories that are so imbedded in the cultural history of American Negroes? And if we are to believe that racism, *by its nature,* causes the psychological bondage of those toward whom it is aimed, how do we explain the existence of the many thousands of Negroes who have and continue to function successfully without reference to the irrational men and institutions around them?

How, pray tell, do we account for the success of a man like multimillionaire Hobart T. Taylor, Sr., a Houston Negro who made his first million 43 years ago in the then-segregated taxi franchise business—part of a family fortune that began with $600 in dimes earned by Mr. Taylor's grandfather, the slave Andrew Taylor, who worked as a shoemaker on a plantation in Texas? How are we to view slavery and racism: by the power that a man already lacking in self-esteem gives them to reinforce his thoughts and actions—or by their impotence against a man determined to be his own maker? What is the most significant fact about Andrew Taylor: that he was a slave—or that he was a shoemaker?

Physical or political enslavement is involuntary—*always.* Psychological enslavement (of otherwise healthy men) is voluntary—*always.* While Brown claims to understand the source of individual freedom, she is reluctant to acknowledge that psycho-intellectual enslavement stems from the same source—man's consciousness. With the aid of her references, she conveys the idea that the slave's mind was raped by someone else while the present-day Negro is raping himself. But while man's existential circumstances change from one era to another, the requirements of his mind remain the same. Man's volition, entailed by

the law of causality, is constant—not a point of reference to be applied to man's activities whenever it suits our fancy. The option of psycho-intellectual independence was not a dead issue during the days of slavery. Its imperative was as real for the slaves (and their oppressors) as it is for men today. I only wish Brown had not given the impression that it was or could have been otherwise.

ASSIMILATION

A second instance of the faulty epistemology of Brown's social determinism is seen in her interpretation of assimilation. She describes assimilation as "a proposition calculated to blow the black mind to bits." By this reasoning, then, it is a *dis*-value: "for the culture around them was not at all suited to them." She tells us that the rise of "black awareness" (a concept that has no epistemological validity whatever and which she does not challenge) was short-circuited because "many blacks still cling to the ideas of collectivism [which] they had assimilated along with everything else in the culture around them."

I agree with novelist and philosopher Ayn Rand that "a nation's culture is the sum of the intellectual achievements of individual men, which their fellow-citizens have accepted in whole or in part, and which have influenced the nation's way of life. Since a culture is a complex battleground of different ideas and influences, to speak of a 'culture' is to speak only of the *dominant* ideas, always allowing for the existence of dissenters and exceptions."[3] Rand adds the following parenthetical note:

> The dominance of certain ideas is not necessarily determined by the number of their adherents: it may be determined by majority acceptance, or by the greater activity and persistence of a given faction, or by default, i.e., the failure of the opposition, or—when a country is free—by a combination of persistence and truth. In any case, ideas and the resultant culture are the product and the active concern of a minority. Who constitutes this minority? Whoever chooses to be concerned.[4]

It is within the context of this concept of a nation's culture, my belief in voluntary association as an aspect of man's political independence, and my acceptance of the doctrine that volitional choice is the regulator of man's consciousness that I present a definition of assimilation counter to that implied in Brown's statements.

Assimilation, properly defined, is the process whereby individuals and groups with different cultures come to share a common culture; it is the process of selection and exchange in which individuals acquire (by conscious choice) the memories, sentiments, attitudes and values of other individuals, and by which their shared experiences and history are incorporated into a common way of life. Assimilation is most often discussed by sociologists in terms of the dynamics of contact between individuals of different ethnic or national cultures; but it may refer also to the less-obvious but greater occurrence of contact of differences among individuals of the same ethnic or national culture. (There is, for instance, great resistance by some tribes in Africa, the Near East and India to the national goals set by the political and intellectual leaders in these countries. Most Western school children know more about the national culture of these lands than do the tribesmen living in them. They have no sense of "nation"; their first loyalty is to the tribe, its elders and witchdoctors—a loyalty prescribed by centuries of traditional values which national leaders find themselves hard put to influence toward change. It is for this reason that the cultures of these nations are best described as "tribalistic"—regardless of what their national leaders say to the contrary).

Assimilation is not a *condition,* as Brown implies; it is not the end result of association, but a *process* of sub-cultural give and take. Neither is it *by definition* a dis-value, but a process of human interaction in which men deal with each other voluntarily for mutual benefit. There are many existential factors that influence the nature and rate of a person's assimilation, but the one factor on which all the others depend is his power of volitional choice—whether he chooses to view the *culture* as his maker—or *himself,* a creator of that culture. The individual who views the culture as his maker employs the process of assimilation as a means of *escaping* his self-responsibility—what Branden calls the social metaphysician's "mindless conformity to the values of others." There is cultural give and take, but rather than being honest, just, harmonious and benevolent, the social metaphysician's assimilation is characterized by cognitive parasitism, psycho-intellectual blackmail, deceit, manipulation, role-playing and appeasement. When such is the case, Brown is partly correct: one's assimilation *is* a proposition calculated (by himself) to blow his mind to bits. But assimilation need not be such an odious and self-immolating experience. The individual who views himself as a creator of his culture employs assimilation as a means of *asserting* his self-responsibility. *His* assimilation involves what Branden calls the healthy man's judgment of his "sense-of-life

"As the slaves struggled to survive the bondage of the plantation subculture, they also embraced the ideals of freedom that permeated the larger culture."

affinity" to others and to their ideas, their spiritual and intellectual achievements. (For a wider discussion of "sense-of-life affinity" see: Branden's discussion of psychological visibility in *The Psychology of Self-Esteem* and Rand's essays on "Philosophy and Sense of Life" and "Art and Sense of Life" in *The Romantic Manifesto*).

Assimilation is not a process whereby one group of men dangle at the end of the sub-cultural strings of another group. It is not an automatic process and neither can it be externally calculated. Coercive assimilation is a contradiction that defeats its own purpose—a fact illustrated by the resistance of slaves to "deculturalization" and by the failure of the government-sponsored "Americanization Movement" inaugurated during the First World War to assimilate foreign immigrants. We are presently witnessing a similar failure of coercive integration, calculated to force men to associate or live next to one another.

"Every individual is his own creator – responsible for his own existence, the content of his consciousness and the nature of his actions."

If, by her statement that "the [American] culture was not suited to [Negroes]," Brown means that the culture has taken shape largely to reflect the ideas and interests of free white *men,* I must agree. But I hasten to add that the history of American culture is of an endless stream of individuals who have challenged this contradiction in a nation established on the principles of individual rights and equal freedom. As the slaves struggled to survive the bondage of the plantation subculture, they also embraced the ideals of freedom that permeated the larger culture. They may not have experienced the *fact* of that freedom, but they were nonetheless fervent in their belief that they were entitled to it. And every immigrant to America from 1619 to the present day shared the same belief. The issue was not whether an individual was capable of assimilating aspects of the larger culture, but whether, irregardless of his cultural heritage or biological ancestry, he would be granted the legal protection necessary to make assimilation possible—in this case, to meritoriously rise to the level that his intelligence and industry would allow. This is the issue which stirred the advocates of women's suffrage and moves those who protest government-enforced racism. And it is this same issue that waits to be faced in deciding the still unresolved fate of American Indians.

PRIME EXAMPLE

Unlike self-immolating assimilation, self-assertive assimilation requires a strong self-identity and the psycho-intellectual independence that enables one to select those aspects of another culture which he judges beneficial to his interests. One of the finer examples of self-assertive assimilation is seen in the story of a Russian young woman who immigrated to America in 1926 on a six-month visitor's visa, but remained to become a United States citizen and a best-selling philosophical novelist. Had she been a person of different character and ideals, this young immigrant could have rushed to the bosom of a Russian-American community in order to cushion the shock of entering a society so different from her native land. But since her childhood, she had held a view of reality that was most *un*-Russian. Her arrival in New York was merely the act of her body finally arriving in the setting where her mind had already been so many times before. Being neither "deculturalized" nor "Americanized," she was more "American" in spirit than most native-born Americans and in this, her psycho-intellectual homeland, she would turn her ideas into concrete achievements. Like all immigrants to a new culture, she integrated into her life-style that which served to enhance the goals she had outlined for her life—no more and no less.

One day in 1940 she spoke to a street crowd in behalf of Presidential candidate Wendell Willkie who called himself an "uncompromising defender of free enterprise." A heckler interrupted her speech, demanding: "Who are you to talk about America? You're a foreigner!" Unperturbed, she answered: "That's right. I *chose* to be an American. What did *you* do, besides having been born?"[5]

The young campaigner who asserted her American citizenship—*and* the epistemological root of citizenship in America: *choice*—was Ayn Rand. On that day she was in the middle of writing a novel in "defense of egoism"—of "individualism versus collectivism, not in politics, but in man's soul." She had already published one novel set in Russia about "dictatorship, any dictatorship, anywhere, at any time, whether it be Soviet Russia, Nazi Germany, or—which this novel might do its share in helping to prevent—a socialist America." She would write another in which she would formulate "a rational morality of and for man, of and for his life, of and for this earth"—a moral defense of capitalism. And in spite of attacks by intellectuals of all persuasions, her books would become best-sellers and the basis of a moral revolution in the minds of thousands in the United States and abroad.

It is interesting that in the field of musical entertainment, Ayn Rand's favorite dance is the tap dance—popularized by Bill Robinson, a Negro vaudevillian and screen actor, but which originated with the plantation slaves and which she calls "singularly appropriate to America and distinctly un-European." [6] Why would this white American novelist of Russian descent find such pleasure in the performance of a dance originated by Negro slaves? Does she

harbor some neurotic desire to be black? Was her sense of esthetic judgment "blown to bits" and reinforced by the popular culture of the 1930's and 1940's? Those who are in the least familiar with the ideas of Ayn Rand and who understand anything about the process of assimilation know that to ask such questions about her choice of dance is to issue the supreme insult.

THE "DISABILITY" OF HAIR

I am satisfied that many Negro women, especially those whose lack of sophistication leaves them largely unaware of the motives urbane social science scholars attach to their behavior, would find themselves as baffled as I am by Brown's assertion that their cosmetic customs are manifestations of a dislike for their physical attributes and a desire to imitate the physical appearance of whites. Since I have no evidence that such is the case, I cannot disprove Brown's assertion, but I would like to present a different view of hair straightening—a view of at least one Negro woman, *myself,* who straightens her hair but who is not neurotic and quite pleased with who and what she is.

Some human beings are born with physical attributes that develop naturally into beautiful faces and bodies, but most people must *make* themselves beautiful—i.e., the achievement of the harmony of features and excellence of form that is a pleasing sensory experience involving sight and/or touch. One's achieved beauty is not skin deep nor in the eye of his beholder, but the metaphysical projection of his self-image and his view of reality. To paraphrase Ayn Rand: "Physical beauty is not a moral or volitional issue—but the *choice* to [make oneself] a beautiful human being rather than an ugly one, implies the existence of volition: of choice, standards, values." The choice to make oneself beautiful need not stem from the conclusion that he is ugly and unfit, but from the conclusion that he is worthy of living and therefore worthy of beauty and the pleasure it brings—beginning with the beauty of his *own* person.

One improves or imparts physical beauty by means of *personal grooming*—the technique of caring for one's body and making oneself attractive according to his value-judgments. Entailed in personal grooming is *cosmetology*—the art of applying beautifying preparations to the face and body of which *hairdressing,* the art of arranging the hair in certain styles, is a part. (Another, less related aspect of personal grooming is *cosmetic surgery*—the improvement of one's appearance by restoration of damaged areas of the body, replacement and repair of lost or deformed parts).

It is not the illusion of being someone else that motivates a rational person to alter and adorn his natural appearance; nor does his cosmetology imply a denial of his biological ancestry or genetic endowment. His aim is simply to have his outward appearance match the quality of his character and personality as it is or as he would like it to be. He does this by *accentuating* the shape, texture and features of the face and the texture and form of the hair, by coordinating his makeup and hair styles to emphasize the best features from the weak ones in order to achieve visual harmony.

Obviously, a lot of people of pale pink complexion would prefer a tawnier pigmentation than that they're born with. So would a lot of people with limp, straight hair like more curl or wave than what they were born with; and a lot of people with kinky or wooly hair would like less coil and more wave or straightness. Some people even go to great expense to restructure their appearance by means of cosmetic surgery (the famous nasal operations have been going on since the ancient Egyptians tried to repair broken noses). There is nothing morally wrong or inherently neurotic about improving one's features by means of cosmetic surgery, or about straightening or curling one's hair to achieve a desired hair style worn by women with different hair form and texture. It *is* neurotic to believe that one's personal value and self-identity are dependent on the shape of his nose, how he wears his hair, or if he has any hair at all. When a self-confident Negro woman straightens her hair, it is not Caucasian hair that she desires or intends to achieve, but the sufficient alteration of her own hair to achieve the hair style she considers most attractive. It is not an attempt to be someone else, but to improve her own appearance. She is not engaged in an act of self-depreciation, but in projecting the *value* she places on her person.

"It is a foregone conclusion among most women that as man is the shaper of his environment, so is he the shaper of his personal appearance; that personal attractiveness, achieved by imparting or improving one's natural endowments is a goal worthy of their effort."

BEAUTY CUSTOMS

There is no universal standard of beauty in America—only prevailing fashions that come and go. One such fashion in hairdressing is the bushy "Afro" worn by many Negroes—a coiffure that is not "natural" but requires vigorous combing and brushing, continual shaping and the application of hair spray to maintain its bushy appearance. There are whites who wear the style but must cut their hair and have it teased or set in very tight curls to achieve the "puffed" effect. Some Negro women who cannot achieve the wooly appearance use the same methods or wear Afro wigs; others wear wigs rather than style their own hair. But wearing the wig or the coiffure seems to be losing the political significance attached

to it and is considered by many women as just another of the various hair arrangements they may choose among. After finding the Afro too much trouble to care for, some women are returning to styles that require hair straightening.

Unlike the temporary fashion of the Afro hairstyle, hair straightening among American Negro women is a *custom* that has been practiced for many generations. It is as much their custom as is the heat and cold permanent wave a custom among white women. (I should point out that the "hell" of the hair-straightening process described by Brown is not descriptive of a professional treatment but rather the ruination of an amateur). Altering the natural form and texture of the hair, the "hell" notwithstanding, is a custom practiced by women all over the world and throughout history. (Archaeologists have found hairpins and combs that date from prehistoric times.) And as the retail statistics of the cosmetic industry indicates, it is a foregone conclusion among most women that as man is the shaper of his environment, so is he the shaper of his personal appearance; that personal attractiveness, achieved by imparting or improving one's natural endowments is a goal worthy of their effort. It is this view of man's cosmetology that leaves me unable to comprehend how anyone can identify it as "the cultural reinforcement of psychological enslavement."

"I have only one thing to say to writers like Grier, Cobbs, Teague – and in a different sense, to Susan Brown: Speak for yourself, brother!"

"BLACK RAGE"

Finally, I would like to comment on the book *Black Rage* from which Brown quotes.

I agree with Brown and the authors of *Black Rage* that slavery was an evil, unjust and reprehensible institution, but slavery did not *cause* the degradation that many Negroes allowed themselves to sink to. I agree that being the object of government-enforced segregation, racial discrimination and general race consciousness is humiliating, but neither government policy nor one's prejudiced neighbors are the *causes* of the alienation a person might experience. I agree that some Negroes have assimilated some of the worst aspects of the culture around them, but neither the dominant culture nor one's own subculture are *causes* of self-immolation. While there is nothing wrong, per se, with having an interest in the history of one's biological ancestors—or fashioning one's hair and dress after their cultural customs—or favoring only the achievements of individuals whose race is the same as one's own—these things do not *cause* self-acceptance. They are not the agents of pride and they certainly do not identify the "essence" of one's identity. Every individual is his own creator—responsible for his own existence, the content of his consciousness and the nature of his actions.

Nathaniel Branden writes that in any study of man, "one must begin by identifying the fact upon which any subsequent analysis of man necessarily rests: that man is a rational being, a being whose distinctive form of consciousness is conceptual." Nothing could be farther from this approach than that of psychiatrists Grier and Cobbs who, by employing social determinism and their subjectivity to the motives and behavior of Negroes in particular, reveal how little they understand about man in general and what little regard they have for the individual. Their entire approach is to exempt Negroes from man's identity as a rational being—and then to absolve them from the error of their reasoning, judgment and actions by putting the blame for many of their psychological problems on agents to which it does not always properly belong. They present cases of troubled individuals whom they describe as "typical of black Americans" and proceed to create from these a *new* Negro stereotype: a mangled mass of madness whose " 'place' in America had been shaped by powerful forces"—whose identity is "a nearly bottomless well of self-depreciation ... prepared by society and stands waiting, a prefabricated pit which they have had no hand in fashioning." He is the product of the "powerful interlocking of family milieu and social attitudes [that] has presented a barrier to him and his black brethren which is felt by no other ethnic group in America." He is a festering force of fury turned inward on himself and capable of destroying those without who created him.

In *The Disowned Self,* Branden presents many cases in which individuals go to great lengths to evade their self-responsibility and thereby nurture their suffering rather than take the necessary steps to alleviate it. He says that in the material sphere of his existence, man has the option of *assuming* responsibility for his life or not assuming it. But psychologically, man is, by his nature, necessarily *self-responsible.* "His option is only whether or not he will choose to be aware of that fact and to accept its consequences." He continues:

> The more a person grows in self-awareness, the more he is prepared to acknowledge responsibility for his action, responses and psychological state. The 'responsibility' to which I refer does not carry any necessary implication of moral blame; the issue of moral blame may be entirely irrelevant; a person may behave self-harmfully because he does not know any better or cannot imagine an alternative; but the fact remains it is *he* who is behaving, not some external agent. . . .

> I do not mean to imply that a person never suffers through accident or through the fault of others. But psychotherapy is primarily concerned with the suffering that a person brings on himself. [7]

In *Black Rage,* Grier and Cobbs are not concerned with the self-responsibility of Negroes. They explicitly state that their aim is to demonstrate that "the anger raging in the black man's breast [is caused by] the long history of white racism that put it there." First they inform us: "Of all the things that need knowing, none is more important than that all blacks are angry." Then they warn us: "The time seems near for the full range of the black masses to put down the broom and buckle on the sword. And it grows nearer day by day." And not once—from their point of information to the issuance of their warning—do they question whether the internal rage many blacks experience should necessarily end in expressions of violence against others. Indeed, they offer the psychological problems of blacks as the *moral justification* for crimes against property and person and for racial "chauvinism"—a euphemism for black racism.

Having exempted Negroes from self-responsibility, these two doctors of the mind end their analysis and conclusions with the ultimate insult to all Negroes when they ask: "Can we say that white men have driven black men mad?"

Black Rage was published in 1968 and in the same year another book was published which gave an unequivocal "Yes!" to the Grier and Cobbs question. The book, called *Letters To A Black Boy,* is a compilation of messages from Bob Teague, a television news reporter, to his infant son. Teague begins with the declaration that "All black men are insane. And that includes your daddy. . . . As a general rule, the white majority has no idea that its irrational behavior has created a monster it calls the Race Problem—better, call it 22,000,000 insane blacks. I see no reason to apologize for my madness. As a matter of fact, I am proud of it. Any black man who is not insane—the way things are—ought to have his head examined. Our madness is proof of our humanness."

I have only one thing to say to writers like Grier, Cobbs, Teague—and in a different sense, to Susan Brown: *Speak for yourself, brother!* ◻

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[3] Ayn Rand, "Don't Let It Go," *The Ayn Rand Letter,* Vol. 1, No. 4, November 22, 1971.
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[5] Nathaniel Branden, *Who Is Ayn Rand?* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1962), p. 199.
[6] Ayn Rand, "Art and Cognition" (Part II), *The Objectivist,* Vol. 10, No. 5, May, 1971.
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foreign correspondent

THE WORST ON TOP

The Netherlands. Prominent Dutchmen live outside Holland's borders nowadays. In Belgium, France, Switzerland and Spain one can find "Dutch villages," well padded with individualists.

In Holland itself the people in the limelight are all politicians:

The Prime Minister goes on TV to declare that unemployment is steadily rising despite the hundreds of millions of guilders he pumped into various sectors of the economy.

The Minister of Social Affairs let it be known that the disbursements under the social security legislation will have doubled between 1973 and 1977 if the present trend continues. The total amount for the year 1977 may be equal to the government's annual receipts in taxes.

The Minister of Defense professes to the news media his hatred for uniforms but remains silent when questioned about his many absences from duty and presences in various bars.

The Minister of Development Aid just received his second court sentence for drunken driving. And rumor has it that the cost for replacing his total-loss car was assumed by the government as a normal business expense.

But a shocker, even for many liberated Netherlanders is that the son of the totally ineffective Minister for the Environment very effectively appears on a weekly radio program to broadcast prices of drugs.

Dutch collectivism is spawning legislation such as the seatbelt law and aid to ailing newspapers, to be paid for by a tax on advertising. As The Netherlands' most successful newspaper (resembling Wynand's *Banner* in Ayn Rand's *Fountainhead*) is at the same time the most critical of the government, it is clear that the tax on advertising is aimed at destroying one newspaper rather than aiding all the others.

Some collectivist legislation can be quite amusing indeed—as for instance the government's solution for the shortage in the supply of academic education and subsidies to the ailing building industry. Students and contractors will henceforward partake in a lottery to obtain these privileges from the state. The political debate is now drifting from the abortion laws towards a tax on "super profits." Generally speaking Parliament is hinting that five times the guaranteed minimum income should be the maximum income for any Netherlander. An exception will possibly be the income of the Prime Minister, who at present receives 20 times the amount of the lowest paid civil servant.

(The governing parties leave no doubt as to their wishes for more regimentation of the individual citizen: one of their leaders parades the various cocktail-parties in a Mao uniform!)

Also, companies will be taxed on their super profits. The idea stems from old Karl Marx's assumption that labour rather than management, machines and capital is the source of profits. Possibly anything above 10 percent profits would be taxed away to the benefit of a workers' fund. As all Dutch workers would have an equal claim on this fund, the most productive workers would thus subsidize the least productive—an event undoubtedly valued by the lawmakers as a necessary step towards the workers' paradise.

While the Prime Minister is openly advocating the nationalization of all business and increased workers' participation in management decisions, the main opposition party which normally speaks for business and farmers, frantically endeavours to stem the collectivist tide. Their latest ploy is to advocate total agreement with government except that its decrees should be accepted *voluntarily* instead of being forced upon the population!

But of course the trend towards more coercion will continue for some time in The Netherlands until the roots of the altruist morality have been effectively exposed. It is in this light that one should look at the debate in parliament on the strengthening of the powers of the Dutch secret police. Particularly interesting is the omission by the government of a clear description of those considered to be the enemies of the state.

A LOOK AT THE BOTTOM

A year ago a handful of enterprising Netherlanders—most of them living abroad—provided an item of real interest for libertarian readers. Schooled in the teachings of Rand and von Mises they founded the Dutch Libertarian Center. A libertarian bookshop, a newsletter and a six-lectures-per-year program are its first accomplishments. A Dutch translation of Rand's *Capitalism, The Unknown Ideal* will be on the market shortly. Quite an elaborate organization is in preparation and a Dutch version of Hayek's *Full Employment At Any Price* is due for publication this fall.

In May a nice surprise was Nathaniel Branden's arrival in Amsterdam with a lecture and a three-day seminar on psychology. A month earlier Harry Schultz lectured to the Libertarian Center on gold.

Both speakers held newspaper interviews in the hope of boosting our spadework to build the road to freedom in The Netherlands.

MICHIEL VAN NOTTEN

WELFARISM

I saw a mooch the other day
Which quick I said to go away
It came right back with such a whoosh
(It doesn't pay to Scaramouche)

Dennis J. Chase

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viewpoint

TIBOR R. MACHAN

SOME POINTS IN DEFENSE OF PURISM

Perhaps in every ideological movement—in each school of thought that generates supporters who work to implement some of the principles derived from that school's framework of analysis—there are *purists* and *not-so-purists.* Among those who support the free society there is ample evidence of the belief that some are in one, others in the other camp. I am concerned only with a couple of matters in this connection.

One is the distinction between those who maintain that one and only one line of reasoning gives the conclusive support for the claim that a free society is best for human beings, and those who think that unless someone employs that argument, he or she *cannot* be a sincere, honest, productive advocate of human liberty. I belong in the first category. I admit that what the best argument for freedom (or a link at some particular stage within it) is may not as yet be fully worked out. I have independent grounds for thinking that if some conclusion is true, there can be a best way to show that. But I do not believe that everyone is responsible to know what that is.

Another issue concerning purism is that those who object to it most have a logical problem right off. As not-so-purists (which means: not committed to the position with which I associated myself above), these individuals believe that many (even any or no) avenues of argumentation can give equally good support for some conclusion. Still they object to the purists! But if an indeterminable variety of avenues can support the conclusion, the purist's idea that only one can do so best may be among those many. So there can be room for offense taken at, but not for a clear case against, the purist from the not-so-purist's viewpoint.

All this is meant to lead me to a beef I have against some people who are not-so-purists. Recently a lot of people have been climbing on to the libertarian platform. There are hedonist/subjectivists who don't accept natural law, objective morality, natural rights—only some "opposite force" that may be as good or as bad as "we" are. There are positivists who think that we have only preference, not sound moral and political judgment, on "our" side when we stand for human liberty. There are reductionists who claim that free will does not exist and society will just automatically evolve toward human freedom. Still others have begun to link libertarianism to scientology, arguing that the human spirit is separate from the human body; autonomous and thus "completely free" (even of the laws of nature). Some think that accepting homosexuality as just one of *many* valid forms of sexuality is intrinsically tied to libertarianism. Then of course there are anarchists who claim that libertarianism *entails* the rejection of any kind of government, even law. The pacifists, who think protecting your own property (except when it is in your direct physical possession) involves moral evil of some sort, are yet another "authentic" libertarian group. And I haven't even come to the libertarian socialists, communists, and other "ists."

Granted, all these groups may find the political conclusion of libertarianism—that the free society is best for human beings—compatible with defending and pursuing their special values, ideas, ideals, projects, etc. That is, after all, one of the values of such a society—beyond a commitment to human liberty its laws do not demand anything of its members. But to *establish* that society, even to maintain it, more than that limited (political) commitment is required. The opposition's arguments must be met. Especially when one isn't starting with those who are politically *tabula rasa.* Their arguments can only be met with the best that defenders of human liberty can offer. Weaknesses in the case for liberty will allow the opposition's case to come off better, even if freedom *could* be given the best of all defenses.

So I have no personal beef with the not-so-purists and hangers on. In fact it is gratifying to know that libertarianism can accommodate many adherents of viewpoints different from what is the best in its behalf, just as predicted within libertarian political theory. No one need fear those who insist on finding the best case for human liberty, so long as he does respect its tenets and implications—on whatever grounds. I do want to make the appeal that some people join the effort to develop the best case. Without that we simply won't have libertarianism (or liberty) to hang on to much longer, even in the meager measure we can now encounter it.

A final note. I am interested in discussing the issue of purism versus not-so-purism,

but not in pseudo-psychological terms. Those who want to brand purists like me psychologically "hung up" will do well to consider that a person who does have psychological hang-ups really doesn't like to be told about them in the course of an argument in which (he believes, rightly or wrongly) some substantive topic is being investigated. So there simply is no value in such "information" for purposes of resolving the issue I have been discussing. It is so tiresome to hear about your motivation when the merits of your suggestions and support for them are what is at issue. I say this from experience involving many others interested in resolving problems but meeting with amateur psychologists instead of *bona fide* interlocutors. ◻

Tibor Machan teaches philosophy at SUNY-Fredonia. Dr. Machan's viewpoint appears in this column every third month, alternating with the viewpoints of Murray N. Rothbard and David Brudnoy.

• **REASON PAPERS:** The second issue of the scholarly journal, *Reason Papers* is being planned. To obtain a copy at the special prepublication price of $3.00, send your check to Reason Papers, c/o T. R. Machan, 2251 Harvard Street, Palo Alto, CA 94306. A limited quantity of *Reason Papers'* first issue is available from Dr. Machan at the price of $4.00 each.

trends

TRANSIT INNOVATIONS

Many of the nation's largest cities are undergoing severe fiscal crises while simultaneously planning or implementing multi-billion dollar fixed-rail mass transit systems. Yet the massive new systems, despite their cost and sophistication, can meet only a fraction of the total urban traffic demand. Harvard economist John Kain notes that the annual interest costs alone for Atlanta's new rail system could cover the cost of expanding that city's bus service by 50 percent—and offering it free to riders. Fortunately, there is a considerable revival of interest in low-cost, flexible, largely-private modes of transit—a category becoming known as *paratransit,* which includes taxis, jitneys, car pools, subscription buses, and car rental services.

Beating the academic drum for paratransit is a major study by the Urban Institute (*Paratransit: Neglected Option for Urban Mobility,* 1974). The report's five authors find substantial promise in these unglamorous modes of transit, and find (not surprisingly) that the principal reason they are not more widely utilized is government regulation. In reviewing the subject of taxi regulations, the authors strongly endorse free entry, in contrast to the existing system of monopoly franchises. And they find that city regulations prohibiting cabs from adopting ride-sharing and flexible pricing "are the most serious obstacles to near-term implementation of more effective taxi, dial-a-ride, and jitney services." Further, they stress that "there is probably no other single or simpler palliative for some of our urban transportation problems which could have such a large impact as the relaxation of present day entry controls for both taxis and jitneys."

The Urban Institute's conclusions are not especially new. Previous studies by General Research Corp. (1971) and the Institute for Defense Analysis (1973) led to essentially the same conclusions, as did research by economists Ross Eckert and George Hilton. What is new, and significant, is the increasing publicity being given to such views. Consumers Union has recently endorsed the whole paratransit concept, attacking taxi regulations and urging a return of the jitney. CU approvingly cites the illegal jitney operation in Pittsburgh as a good example of "the free enterprise system in action," filling a demand (jitneys outnumber the city's 225 legal cabs) and providing needed employment.

Unfortunately, city officials are slow to get the message. Still strongly in league with existing monopoly transit operators, they continue their attempts to stamp out paratransit. In Orange County, California, a woman who operated a 10-passenger van as a car pool service was put out of business by the state Public Utilities Commission, after protests from a local bus service. The City of Los Angeles, estimating that 400 to 500 illegal cabs are defying its franchise ordinance, has set up a joint task force of police and public utility inspectors to crack down on them; two police officers are being assigned to each of five public utilities inspectors to issue citations and make arrests. Further, the Federal transit aid program of the Urban Mass Transit Administration encourages cities to stay away from paratransit, by providing funds *only* for forms of transit that will not reduce employment in existing transit services. Thus, although the climate for innovative, free-market transit is improving, real change may be a long time in coming.

SOURCES:

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- "Car Pool Ruled Illegal Bus Line," *Los Angeles Times,* Apr. 16, 1975.
- "Pact Reached for Crackdown on 'Pirate Cabs'," *Ibid.,* Apr. 29, 1975.

ADVERTISING AND PROFESSIONALS

The spurious claim that the services of "professionals" are somehow not part of ordinary commerce, which is used to justify laws prohibiting advertisement of such services, received two more body blows in June. Hard on the heels of a California Supreme Court ruling striking down the state's ban on prescription drug advertising (see "Trends," August 1975), the Federal Trade Commission has proposed new regulations to wipe out similar laws in the 33 states where they remain in effect. Citing a 1970 study by University of Arizona professor John Cady, the FTC study estimated that price advertising could save consumers at least 4.3 percent of the $6.7 billion they spend annually on prescriptions—a saving of $288 million. FTC Chairman Lewis Engman attacked the underlying premise that such advertising is unethical: "It is a curious set of values which says that the consumer may be given full information about discretionary purchases such as deodorant and mouthwash but cannot be given information that will help him save money on nondiscretionary purchases such as drugs which a doctor has prescribed as essential to his good health." He noted that the proposed FTC rules would not compel anyone to advertise; they would merely remove the present legal barriers against such advertising—a fully libertarian approach. Public hearings will be held on the rules next fall, after which the five FTC commissioners will vote on whether to enact them.

The second development concerns the legal profession. As anticipated in this column (see "Trends," July 1975), the U.S. Supreme Court ruled unanimously that a county bar association's state-enforced minimum fee schedules are a "classic illustration of price-fixing" that violates the antitrust laws. The ruling gave increased support to the efforts of the Justice Department and others to strike down the legal profession's bans on advertising about fees and services. The Court ruled that the service in question, a title search, is in fact a service rendered in exchange for money, and is therefore "commerce." It did not declare that *all* services offered by professionals (engineers, doctors, architects) are commerce, but left the door open for future litigation on these issues.

SOURCES:

- "FTC Acts to Halt Ban on Drug Price Ads," *Los Angeles Times,* Jun. 3, 1975.
- "Antitrust Laws Apply to Bar's Fees, Court Rules," *Ibid.,* Jun. 17, 1975.
- " 'Price Fixing' Banned," *U.S. News and World Report,* Jun. 30, 1975.

FREEDOM TO SMOKE

The number of persons arrested for the victimless crime of puffing marijuana has increased from 18,815 in 1965 to 420,700 in 1973. Increasingly, important public officials are questioning the value system which devotes such substantial resources to saving people from themselves, while real crimes continue to soar (see "Trends," April 1975). These concerns are now beginning to result in specific legislative proposals. The Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) is studying ways of substituting civil fines for criminal penalties in cases of marijuana possession and use. The DEA's approach is modeled after Oregon's 1973 law, which changed minor marijuana possession to a "civil violation," whose maximum penalty is a $100 ticket. The independent Drug Abuse Council has found that a majority of Oregonians approve of the law; their survey further showed that there was no significant increase in marijuana use after the decriminalization—in fact, 40 percent of the users reported decreased usage. Lane County district attorney Pat Horton notes with approval that "decriminalization has, in fact, prioritized police work into areas of violent crime and crime against property." In addition, it has "removed approximately one-third of the total number of cases awaiting trial from the docket, thus freeing valuable space in our courtrooms."

The proposed new Federal criminal code

(pending in the Senate as S.1) would reduce the maximum Federal penalty for marijuana possession from one year to 30 days. But a bill introduced by Sen. Jacob Javits and Rep. Edward Koch would decriminalize marijuana possession, along the lines of the Oregon law. Similar decriminalization measures have recently been passed in Alaska, Maine, Colorado, and California, and are under consideration in a number of other states, including Minnesota, Massachusetts, Vermont, and Washington. Most significant of all is a decision by the Alaska Supreme Court in May, shortly after that state's decriminalization bill passed. The Court ruled that citizens have a constitutional right to possess marijuana for personal use in their own homes, thereby invalidating even civil penalties. "The state cannot impose its notions of morality, propriety, or fashions on individuals when the public has no legitimate interest in the affairs of those individuals," the Court ruled, in its 5-0 decision. Although the ruling does not affect possession or use in public, the Court's decision is a welcome advance for the individual's right to be left alone.

SOURCES:

- "Justice Dept. Studying Civil Penalties for Pot Users," *Crime Control Digest,* Dec. 9, 1974, p. 6.
- "Oregon Adapts to Mild Laws on Marijuana, Survey Shows," *Narcotics Control Digest,* Jan. 1, 1975, p. 3.
- "Pressure Mounts to Decriminalize Marijuana," *Criminal Justice Newsletter,* Dec. 16, 1974, p. 6.
- "Marijuana: The Legal Question," *Consumer Reports,* Apr. 1975, p. 265.
- "Alaska Court OKs Personal Marijuana Use," AP (Juneau), May 27, 1975.
- "Legalizing Pot at Home," *Time,* Jun. 9, 1975, p. 10.

FREEING FOOD PRICES

During the Depression of the 1930's, farm organizations and politicians got together to restrict competition in the sale of food products. Various Federal and state "marketing orders" were enacted, setting up public "advisory boards" which amount to little more than government-sponsored cartels designed to stabilize prices at higher than free-market levels. Like most creatures of the state, these cartels have continued their unquestioned existence ever since. In recent months, however, the advisory boards have come under increasing criticism from both consumers and some legislators, especially in California.

In February, the Ralph Nader sponsored California Citizen Action Group called for repeal of the marketing orders which create the cartels. A spokesman for the group cited the Peach Advisory Board's 1970 order for destroying 26 percent of the crop (200,000 tons of fruit and 20,000 acres of trees) in order to keep prices high, and noted the similar actions of advisory boards regulating the sale of pears, grapefruit, eggs, and milk. That same month the *Los Angeles Times* urged the abolition of the state's controls on milk sales at both the wholesale and retail levels, citing their anticompetitive, anti-consumer effects.

In response to rising pressure, the Calif. Department of Food and Agriculture suspended wholesale milk price controls, and in April began experimentally lifting retail price controls. (In Sacramento, the move led to a nine-cent drop in the retail half-gallon price.) A state Senate bill to abolish altogether the state's power to set minimum wholesale and retail prices was defeated, after heavy dairy industry lobbying. Instead, the legislature passed a compromise bill repealing the Agriculture Director's power to set minimum prices, but preventing the retail price from dropping lower than the wholesale price plus 16.6 percent. Although the bill left intact the 38-year-old Milk Advisory Board, consumers received some consolation when the California Wine Advisory Board was abolished, effective July 1.

SOURCES:

- "Nader Group Calls for End of Farm Product Regulation," UPI (Sacramento), Feb. 5, 1975.
- "The Milk Consumers Are Cheated," editorial, *Los Angeles Times,* Feb. 3, 1975.
- "Nine-Cent Drop in Milk Prices Reported in Test," UPI (Sacramento), Apr. 29, 1975.
- "Senate Panel Kills Milk Bill Backed by Consumers," AP (Sacramento), May 6, 1975.
- "Bill Approved to End Minimum Milk Prices," *Ibid.,* Jun. 28, 1975.

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• "Wine Board to be Dissolved," UPI (Sacramento), May 19, 1975.

MINOR VICTORY ON VITAMINS

The Food and Drug Administration has conceded partial defeat in its attempt to substantially increase its control over vitamin supplements. Under intensive pressure from consumers, manufacturers, and Congress, the FDA has dropped its plan to classify as drugs all vitamin products containing more than 150 percent of the Recommended Dietary Allowance (RDA) of each vitamin. Instead, these products will continue to be considered as foods. Nonetheless, the FDA still intends to press forward with the remainder of its antivitamin plan, according to the National Health Federation. This includes the following measures:

- Setting rigid "standards of identity" for vitamin products, limiting the available combinations
- Prohibiting a wide variety of nutritional claims from being made in vitamin advertising, including the statement that the American diet is deficient in vitamins
- Outlawing most multiple-vitamin and vitamin-mineral combinations
- Preventing such substances as bioflavinoids from being sold in combination with vitamins
- Requiring the inclusion of certain vitamins and minerals in multivitamin products.

For these reasons, Sen. William Proxmire's bill (S.548) to prohibit the FDA from in any way restricting the potencies or combinations of vitamin and mineral supplements is still a very live issue. The Proxmire bill passed the Senate by 81-10 last year, but was bottled up by Rep. Paul Rogers in his House Subcommittee on Health and Environment, despite sponsorship by over 200 Representatives. This year the bill has been introduced again, with 38 Senate and 27 House sponsors thus far. Whether sufficient public pressure will be brought to bear to insure passage, in view of the FDA's tactical retreat on a few points, remains to be seen.

SOURCES:

• "FDA Drops Fight to Class 'Supervitamins' as Drugs," UPI (Washington), May 28, 1975.
• "Proxmire Bill Is Still NHF Goal," *National Health Federation Bulletin,* May 1975, p. 2.
• "FDA Vitamin Regulations Under Attack in Congress," *Consumer Reports,* Jun. 1975, p. 337.

MILESTONES

• *Communications.* A leading business group has called for the elimination of all restrictions on cable TV and pay-cable. The recommendation is the result of a two-year study by the Committee for Economic Development, a group of 200 leading business executives. The study found that the FCC's regulations on cable TV serve only the interests of the established broadcasting industry, not those of consumers. (Source: "Marketing Observer," *Business Week,* Apr. 14, 1975, p. 50)

• *Taxes.* A Quaker conscientious objector has taken the IRS to court over his nonpayment of taxes—and won. Robin Harper has refused to pay income taxes for the past 17 years, because the use of tax money for war violates his beliefs. In 1966, the self-employed carpenter was presented with a bill for $26,159 in back taxes, which he refused to pay. The tax court upheld the IRS, but Harper's appeal dragged on so long that the U.S. District Court now says the statute of limitations has run out, and the IRS can't collect. Further, the District Court ruled that the IRS could not force Harper to disclose his assets and sources of income. (Source: "Quaker Wins Court Case Over Nonpayment of Taxes," AP (Philadelphia), May 22, 1975)

• *Busing.* The man whose 1966 report led to large-scale forced busing to achieve "racial balance" has changed his mind. Sociologist James S. Coleman told the *National Observer,* "I think the country would have been better off if the report had not led to busing," and accuses big-city busing of "accelerating the very racial isolation we are trying to overcome," by inspiring flight to the suburbs. Coleman has recently been studying the effects of busing in 12,000 school districts, in research sponsored by the Urban Institute. (Source: "Busing Aim Fails, Sociologist Thinks," AP (Washington), Jun. 1, 1975)

• *Deregulation.* The public would receive "the benefits of lower fares and more appropriate levels of service" if the CAB were to "relax substantially its control over fares and entry." Thus concluded a recent Brookings Institution study of domestic airlines. Deregulation would be preferable to other means of solving the industry's problem of excessive rivalry on trivial details of service features, such as increased CAB regulation of these matters, the study noted. (Source: "Airline Deregulation," *Aviation Week,* May 19, 1975)

• *Advertising.* Even if untruthful, corporate image ads are exempt from regulation under the free speech guarantees of the First Amendment, the FTC has ruled. The FTC decision came in response to a petition asking the agency to require substantiation data for ads relating to energy and the environment. (Source: "Highlights," *Antitrust and Trade Regulation Report,* May 6, 1975)

• *Gold.* "Ironically, however, the removal of gold from the international monetary agreements and the end of its official price open the door for its return as a monetary asset. Central bank gold reserves have been virtually useless since 1968 when the market price moved appreciably above the official price because IMF rules have prohibited the transfer of gold at anything but the official price. With that price abolished, however, there will be nothing to stop central bankers from revaluing their gold reserves and using them to settle international payments at a negotiated, market-related price. Such a mechanism is already provided for in an agreement among Common Market governments reached last year in Zeist, the Netherlands." (Source: "Meeting Halfway on the Role of Gold," *Business Week,* Jun. 16, 1975, p. 20.)

• *Self Defense.* The police chief of one of the country's largest cities has urged citizens to protect themselves with guns. Edward M. Davis, chief of the Los Angeles Police Department, admitted recently that "today's law enforcement cannot protect you." Addressing the annual convention of the National Rifle Association, Davis said self-defense "becomes your responsibility" when the police can't do the job. Citing the Constitution's guarantee of the right to keep and bear arms, Davis called on the attendees to match in opposition the organized efforts of the "would-be tyrants" who are urging gun control. (Source: "Police Cannot Protect Public, LA Chief Tells NRA Meeting," AP (San Diego), Apr. 23, 1975.)

• *Medicine.* A survey of doctors in private medical practice indicates much stronger opposition to compulsory National Health Insurance (NHI) than had been thought previously. Some 93 percent of the 26,000 doctors responding to a survey said they do not believe the Federal Government should pay the medical bills of all their patients, 80.5 percent would advise a son or daughter not to go into medicine if NHI came into being, and 27 percent said they would refuse to participate in NHI. Of those who would take part in NHI, 77.5 percent believe care under NHI would be poorer and 75 percent believe it would be more expensive. If the survey figures could be extrapolated to all U.S. office-based physicians, it would mean that 57,820 doctors would refuse to participate in NHI. (Source: "197,480 Doctors Send a Message to Congress on NHI: NO!" *Private Practice,* March 1975, p. 13.) ◻

This column reports trends in the advancement of individual liberty and the rediscovery of economic freedom. Readers are invited to submit material of potential interest.

LUCIFER'S LEXICON
by L. A. Rollins

leader, n. In government, one who follows his nose into other people's affairs.

nihilist, n. One who believes nothing is sacred and venerates it.

obscene, adj. Capable of arousing the prudish.

book review

THE COMPLETE STORIES. By Flannery O'Connor. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux. 1971. 555 pp. $3.95 (paperbound).

Reviewed by DAVID ROSINGER

Flannery O'Connor's fiction has appropriately been called nightmarish. Her stories are full of sadistic geniuses, religious fanatics, redneck imbeciles, malicious children, and grotesque primitives. The stories revolve around such incidents as mass murder, arson, drowning, ritual blinding, and the theft of an artificial limb. The themes include original sin, the anti-Christ, salvation, revelation, and the impotence of reason. All this is told from the point of view of a woman who was a devout Roman Catholic.

What, then, does Flannery O'Connor have to offer the reader who is emotionally secure and mentally sound? She has written nothing that a rationalist won't find disagreeable. There are no larger-than-life heroes in her works or projections of a better world. Many readers, particularly those of the political Left, will find her puzzling if not outrageous. But aside from these considerations, the one thing that has guaranteed her reputation and the one thing that her varied admirers will find themselves in agreement on is that she is an excellent writer. She has few peers in her mastery of the short story medium. If other writers have given us more vivid prose, it is difficult to recall who. And she has no equal in capturing the dialect of the rural South.

Yes, perhaps. But why bother to *read* Flannery O'Connor? At least four good reasons come to mind, but any one of them is in itself sufficient.

1. Flannery O'Connor has the uncanny ability to make the unreal come to life. (Or is it that she makes life seem unreal? Never mind, her language is something to behold.) Think of how any other writer would have described a raincloud. Now consider what O'Connor does with it:

> A cloud, the exact color of the boy's hat and shaped like a turnip, had descended over the sun, and another, worse looking, crouched behind the car. Mr. Shiftlet felt that the rottenness of the world was about to engulf him. (p. 156)

Don't look for any symbolism here. Just observe that the cloud is descending (the very word one would use for a plague) and crouching (as would an animal of prey), and if one has to suffer a downpour, what could be worse than a downpour from a cloud in the shape of a *turnip?*

The accepted way to write a simile is to find an image that is most like what one is trying to describe. The Flannery O'Connor method is to make the image as unlike the thing described as possible, without losing plausibility, and to exploit the unlikeness by implying that all the seeming differences are really characteristics shared. The result is a kind of surrealism. The reader believes in the image precisely because he hasn't thought of a cloud quite that way before, he doesn't quite realize that it is a simile (he has to picture an actual turnip up in the sky) and the fact that it is all artistry escapes him.

2. O'Connor is fully in control of her naturalism. By that I mean that she does not set out to describe real life but rather to employ real life to suit her thematic needs. Like Joyce in *Dubliners* and *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man,* her fiction on a superficial level reads like a straight local color description. Indeed, it is a tribute to the power of her narration and the subtlety of her symbolism that we fall into the belief that O'Connor's world is one and the same with Georgia of the 1950's.

SYMBOLISM

A case in point is the character of Enoch Emery in her novel, *Wise Blood.* Enoch, a semi-literate zookeeper, has acquired a near religious obsession with a mummified corpse on display in a museum. Enoch reads the Latinate spelling of "MVSEVM" on the wall of the building and pronounces it "Muvseevum." At first glance the mispronunciation seems indicative only of Enoch's laughable ignorance. But on further consideration we realize that the word he is afraid to say aloud more than once has acquired for Enoch the same mystical significance as the dried and shrunken body. What seems at first picturesque on careful examination is revealed as symbolic.

Of course, much of the symbolism in O'Connor is a dead giveaway. The name of a character will often provide a reliable key to his nature. E.g.: Mr. Paradise in "The River," Joy Hopewell, who has her name legally changed to Hulga, in "Good Country People," Mr. Head in "The Artificial Nigger" and the demonic Mr. Shiftlet in "The Life You Save May Be Your Own."

In the latter story Mr. Shiftlet is a one-armed carpenter whose figure early in the story is said to form a crooked cross (pp. 146-148).

The purpose of symbolism is neither to perplex nor impress the reader. O'Connor uses symbols as an economy, a literary shorthand, in the same way one uses one word instead of six. Rather than devote several pages to the development of a character, O'Connor can with a brief and memorable description of a face and a few lines of dialogue provide the reader with unerring clues to whether a character has fallen from grace or found salvation. The danger in this, of course, is characterizations that come too easy and border on the stereotypical. True, the reader often has the feeling that he has encountered this particular fanatic or that particular imbecile before—but only in another O'Connor story. The fact is, O'Connor's people may sometimes be predictable, but they are never tiresome. It is a credit to her vision that the recurrence of one type of character fails to dull the reader's fascination with him. Parker in "Parker's Back" may resemble Hazel Motes in *Wise Blood,* but then we never got enough of Hazel Motes in the first place.

3. Outside of Mickey Spillane (the Jehovah's Witness) and Ayn Rand (the Objectivist), Flannery O'Connor (the Roman Catholic) is probably the only modern writer who believes in sharp distinctions between good and evil. Indeed, O'Connor is one of the few modern writers who believes that there is such a thing as *evil.* Marion Montgomery, one of her most astute readers, has written in *The Georgia Review:*

> Flannery O'Connor writes from a position that insists that a very particular, rather than vaguely abstract, evil does indeed exist in our world. She insists as well that, unless one face the evil and recognize it as personal, he is doomed continually to that dark night. In other words, she denies the comfortable belief, prevalent among us, that by supposing ourselves personally unrelated to evil, we thereby become good.

In other words, reality is not something to be faked, although reality means something quite different to O'Connor than to the non-Christian. In her world one keeps body and soul together by first recognizing that evil is not something we manufacture; it is with us from the beginning. Evil is not a social disease, as Rousseau

would have it, but the force that resides in every person irrespective of his environmental context.

We modern freethinkers would like to stop O'Connor right here with our very rational objections to this repugnant medieval view of human nature. But more is to be gained, I believe, by suspending judgment for the moment, giving the author her *donnee,* and just watching what O'Connor the writer does with her Manichean doctrines.

We could say that O'Connor is a great artist in spite of her dogmatism. But perhaps closer to the truth is the possibility that O'Connor's greatness is *because* of her dogmatism. What ties the images in an O'Connor story together, what justifies her artistic selection, what makes the outcome of events seem so *right,* is that in her fiction everything has a purpose unto heaven and Flannery O'Connor. Every scene, every sentence, every word is subordinated to her total vision. In this regard she has said, "The Catholic sacramental view of life is one that sustains and supports at every turn the vision that the storyteller must have if he is going to write fiction of any depth." The term allegorical comes to mind, but it fails to do justice, because the purpose in her writing is not to bring the reader to a specific understanding so much as to make him, like Mrs. Turpin in "Revelation," look at the "very heart of mystery."

4. Lastly, one should read O'Connor because she was an extremely gifted comic writer. It is not without significance that Miss O'Connor was in her college days a cartoonist. One finds this skill as a caricaturist in her graphic physiognomies. Take, for example, the preposterous visage of Mr. Head with his "long tube-like face with a long rounded open jaw and a long depressed nose" (p. 249). Or the General in "A Late Encounter with the Enemy": "He had white hair that reached to his shoulders behind and he would not wear teeth because he thought his profile was more striking without them." (p. 135)

And then there is the hilarious "Good Country People" about the attempts of Dr. Joy (Hulga) Hopewell to convert a Bible salesman to atheism only to discover too late that he is a nihilist and will steal her artificial leg and leave her abandoned in a hay loft.

O'Connor did not view her comedy as having an end separate from her theological purposes. She did not use the grotesque simply to shock or amuse. On one of the occasions when she described her literary theory she said, "Certainly when the grotesque is used in a legitimate way, the intellectual and moral judgments implicit in it will have the ascendency over feeling." Knowing her ulterior motives, of course, does not keep us from enjoying the humor, no more than knowing that she was a Catholic prevents an atheist from appreciating her literary genius.

The major and best part of the literary output of her brief life is to be found in this new complete collection of her short stories. It and the novels, *Wise Blood* and *The Violent Bear It Away,* are her only fictional works. Lamentably, there will be no more. ◻

David Rosinger attended the University of Georgia and graduated with an A.B. in English. He has been active in libertarianism for several years, contributed articles to the Abolitionist *and* New Libertarian Notes, *and formerly edited the* Southern Libertarian Messenger. *At present he is managing a theatre and writing short stories.*

THE REIGNING ERROR: THE CRISIS OF WORLD INFLATION. By William Rees-Mogg. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1974. 112 pp. $8.50 (Available by mail from National Committee for Monetary Reform, 1524 Hillary, New Orleans, LA 70118.)

Reviewed by CHARLES CURLEY

So you think inflation is bad in *this* country? In 1913, one ounce of gold would get you $20.67. Today, it would fetch some $180, an 8.71 inflation rate. In 1913, one ounce of gold would also have brought you £ 3 17§ 10½d, or in new pence, £ 3.89. Today, that ounce of gold would bring you £78.26 (£ 78 5§ 3½d). This represents a 20.01 fold inflation!

On May 1, 1974, *The Times* published an essay by its editor, William Rees-Moss, in which he called for a return to the gold standard. He said, in part,

> Paper money is only as good as the men who control it, and they are under constant pressures to print more of it. Gold exists in limited and finite quantity, and it is added to by new production in limited and reasonably predictable quantity. The value of paper money is therefore precisely the value of a politician's promise, as high or low as you put that; the value of gold, or a contractual right to gold, is protected by the inability of politicians to manufacture it.

This caused a furor in the land of John Maynard Keynes, as one would expect. So Mr. Rees-Mogg followed it up with the present volume. It is short: only 112 pages, including a reprint of the article of last May. It is somewhat polemical: obviously Mr. Rees-Mogg attaches quite a bit of emotion to his arguments. It argues, in part, from a Friedmanite economic position rather than an Austrian position. It even accepts a Keynesian error, the multiplier effect. The last two are minor defects—indeed, one can give the book to Friedmanite rabid antigold standard people (such as Prof. Friedman). And the polemics, far from obscuring logical argument, only serve to make it more lively.

The first of five chapters, "Prometheus Unbound," sets a philosophical base for later arguments. For example, as a prelude for a later observation that governments today prefer short term benefits with postponed ruin to short term discomforts with long term benefits, he writes,

> In the classic periods of history, from Socrates to Mr. Asquith, the formation of opinion, both in the city and in the village, was dominated by the quiet and precise conversation of informed and serious men. In this century it has increasingly been dominated by the power of dissemination of noisy and ignorant men.

(And one suspects that an editor of *The Times* would know.)

The main thrust of the chapter is to develop the concept of ordinate vs. inordinate, or, in other words, the natural vs. the unnatural. Thus, the ordinate is energy concentrated by discipline, such as the energy of individuals concentrated by the Constitution of the United States, or the energy of atomic fusion concentrated by the magnetic bottle to provide power. The inordinate is the energy of men let loose on the world, such as Hitler, or uncontrolled atomic fusion: the hydrogen bomb. The ordinate includes the energies of people harnessed by a stable monetary system; the inordinate is the energy of money let loose in inflation.

The next chapter is "The Assize of Money," which simply means the gold standard on the witness stand. The device allows the author to present the reader with a dialogue between an inquirer and a defender of the gold standard. Thus, we learn Rees-Mogg's definition of inflation:

> JEFFERYS. Pray tell the court what do you mean by this word "inflation?"
> PRISONER. By inflation, I mean bad money, that is money which does not hold its value.
> JEFFERYS. If money does not hold its value, what then?
> PRISONER. Prices rise. . . .
> JEFFERYS. I see you make out a respectable classical ancestry for this modern bastardy. What then caused the inflations?

PRISONER. The same thing as caused all inflations, too much money.

In the chapter, Rees-Mogg turns for authority to both modern and 19th century writers. He refers to Milton Friedman's collaboration with Anna Schwartz, *A Monetary History of the United States,* and to the technical banking publication, *The Bank Credit Analyst.* He also refers the reader to Andrew Dickson White's classic book, *Fiat Money Inflation in France.*

The next chapter's title, "Rotten Herrings and Revolution," is taken from a description of Paris during the hyperinflation, as reported in *The Times* of August 17, 1795. The chapter is devoted to a correlation between inflations and revolutions and the rises of dictatorships. The historical record is quite clear: the biggest beneficiaries of inflations are dictators, whether they are left-wing (such as Lenin) or right-wing (such as the present government in Chile).

Because inflation is inordinate, it generates chaos and encourages lawlessness. One example of this lawlessness should serve as a warning, both to Inland Revenue and to the Internal Revenue,

> There is also a growing problem of tax avoidance (lawful) and tax evasion (direct cheating). In the 1970's we have already seen a Prime Minister of France and a President of the United States run into serious political trouble because of the accusation that they had minimised their tax payments. In Britain a generation ago there was a consensus that taxes ought to be paid willingly as a contribution to the proper cost of running the state; a generation of very high taxation has watered this down to a consensus that taxes legally due should be paid; already there is a fringe of outright illegality, and there must be reason to fear that another few years of inflation and high taxation would destroy the average Englishman's law-abiding attitude toward his taxes, and with it a substantial part of the taxing capacity of the government.

GOLD STANDARD

The next chapter is "The Case For Gold," and Rees-Mogg starts out by saying, "The argument that convinced me of the case for gold was that it worked." Indeed, it did. Rees-Mogg presents us with a table showing an index of prices from 1661, at the time of the Restoration of Charles II, to 1973. The record is clear. Using 1661 as the base, with an index of 100, we find that the most stable prices occurred during the periods from 1661 to 1797 and from 1921 until 1914. From 1797 until 1821 and from 1914 until the present, Britain was off the gold coin standard. Between the two world wars, Britain was on a gold bullion standard, under which the minimum gold one could get for one's paper was a 400 ounce bar. From 1945 until 1968, Britain was on a dollar standard, where one could exchange one's sterling for dollars, and the dollars for gold (again, in 400 ounce lots). After 1968, the dollar was inconvertible entirely, and so was the pound.

An examination of the table is clear: When Britain was on the gold coin standard, the prices were the most stable. In 1661, the index was 100. In 1914, it was 91. Under the wartime inconvertibility, the index rose to 270 in 1920. With deflation and Churchill's attempt to return to the gold standard at the old price of £ 3 17 § 10½d an ounce, prices plummeted to 85 in 1933. 1939 saw war and a price index of 113. 1945 saw a price index of 195. From there, prices rose more or less steadily to 404 in 1967. Last year, the index stood at 595. Not only was the period of the gold coin standard the most stable, but the further Britain has moved away from it, the faster inflation has continued.

In the chapter, Rees-Mogg covers many of the arguments which surround the gold

(continued on p. 48)

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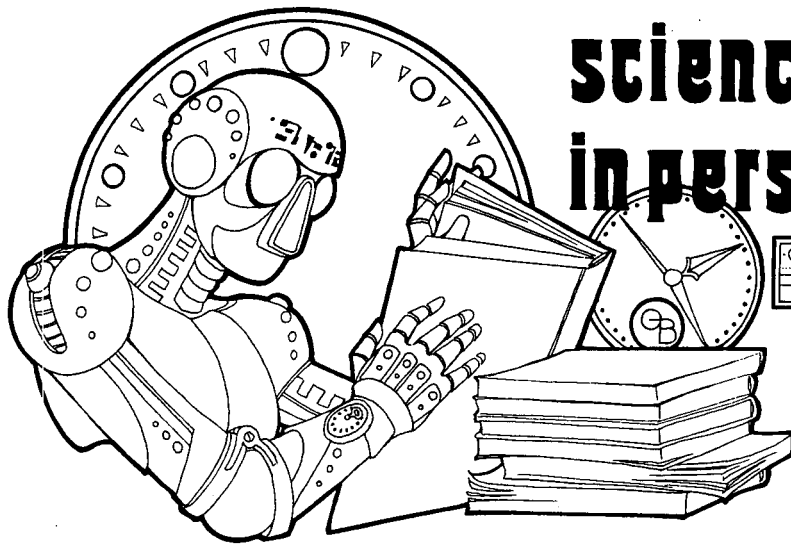

science fiction in perspective

JOHN J PIERCE

ANTIGOVERNMENT SF

A lot of libertarians first became interested in science fiction when they adopted Robert A. Heinlein's *The Moon is a Harsh Mistress* as their own—much as some of the hippies had earlier adopted *Stranger in a Strange Land.*

Some of them never got any further into SF than that, but the recent republication of two earlier works, Cyril M. Kornbluth's *The Syndic* (1953) and Eric Frank Russell's *The Great Explosion* (1962) may encourage them to explore further—who knows, they may even become fans.

Long out of print, they are being brought back as part of the Avon Rediscovery series, which aims to return classics of science fiction to print and keep them in print to make them available for college courses and the like (another book in the series is Algis Budrys' *Rogue Moon* (1960), mentioned here last year).

Kornbluth and Russell were both idiosyncratic writers, and their books are each one of a kind.

Just how the former came to write *The Syndic* is unclear. Even his friend and collaborator (Kornbluth himself died in 1958, while trying in vain to catch a Long Island Railroad commuter train) Frederik Pohl can only say he seemed to be extremely cynical about society in general, but apparently didn't have any strong political opinions, left or right.

The Syndic takes place around 2150 A.D., following a popular revolution that has overthrown the corrupt and oppressive North American government. Most social services have been taken over by what was once called Organized Crime or the Mafia, but is now known as the Syndic—at least on the East Coast.

Life under the Syndic appears to be happy and carefree. Of course, businesses still have to pay protection—but the collectors are understanding if cash is short, and the "customers" get their money's worth. Gone are the suffocating bureaucracy, the victimless crime laws and the remorseless taxation of Government days.

Yet there are still enemies abroad. What is left of the Government operates out of Iceland and Ireland as little more than a band of pirates beset by Byzantine intrigues masquerading as a continuation of partisan politics. And west of the Appalachians is the rule of the Mob—part of the same Organized Crime that produced the Syndic, but malevolent rather than benevolent.

Libertarian critics haven't been sure what to make of the book. Keeping in mind the role of the Mob, it obviously isn't a serious argument that Organized Crime would "really" be a better master than the government, but some see in the structure of the Syndic an anticipation of libertarian theories on alternatives to government, and marvel how near Kornbluth came to libertarian political theory without actually reaching it.

Actually, Kornbluth may not have had that in mind at all. One key to his intent is reference to a book, *Organization, Symbolism and Morale,* by F. W. Taylor—head of the Syndic.

THE SYNDIC

Taylor's theory, briefly put, is that the spirit, or *morale* of a society is more important than its formal structure. To him, the secret of the Syndic's success lies not in having discovered some arcane secret of political science or economics, but in its *social personality.*

In one key scene, a Syndic lieutenant argues that to defend itself against the Government—he isn't even aware the Mob has formed an alliance with that Government, a fact that comes out later when the hero and heroine, Charles Orsino and Lee Falcaro, infiltrate Ireland on an espionage mission—it must root out those in Syndic territory who aid and comfort Government subversion by their puritanical prejudice against gambling and the like, and are therefore guilty of "treason."

Taylor is aghast: "Treason to what—us? The Syndic is not a government. It must not become enmeshed in the symbols and folklore of government or it will be first chained and then strangled by them. The Syndic is an organization of high morale and easygoing, hedonistic personality. The fact that it succeeded the Government occurred because the Government had become an organization of low morale and inflexible, puritanic, sado-masochistic personality."

And the surest way to destroy the Syndic, he warns, "is to adopt Dick Reiner's proposal of a holy war for a starter. From there we can proceed to an internal heresy hunt, a census, excise taxes, income taxes and wars of aggression." The very fact that people like Reiner—and later Orsino and Falcaro—can regard the Syndic as a holy cause, instead of taking it for granted, is, he fears, a symptom of decay.

All this takes place in the context of a spy thriller plot that develops the growing

threat to the Syndic from the secret alliance of the Mob and the Government that is underwriting a series of assassinations of Syndic figures, but has an ironic twist because the very cause of the Syndic is also seen as a threat to the Syndic.

THE GREAT EXPLOSION

The Great Explosion is a novelization of three earlier Russell stories, including "And Then There Were None" (1950), which has appeared separately in both Frederik and Carol Pohl's *Science Fiction: the Great Years* and Ben Bova's *The Science Fiction Hall of Fame,* Volume 2A.

Centuries after the "great explosion" that sent humanity colonizing the far corners of the galaxy, a new Terran Empire is trying to reassert the authority of the Mother Planet. That turns out to be easier said than done, for the inhabitants of those colony worlds, cut off from Earth for centuries, are perfectly satisfied to remain independent, thank you.

The first planet visited by the first Terran warship to attempt the assimilation of the colony worlds turns out to have been a former penal colony which has evolved a society based on "selfishness" pushed to the limit—everybody fights everybody, and nobody trusts anybody. The second is divided between two factions of nudists—the health-nut variety and the Doukhobors—who agree on one thing: clothes are taboo, including the uniforms of the visiting Terrans.

But it is the third part of the book that has been getting the most attention from libertarians, for its portrayal of a society based on Gandhian principles of non-violence that has no government whatever but is also free of the mutual violence and suspicion of the former penal colony.

What a strange world this is becomes clear the minute a spokesman from the ship tries to interest one of the local farmers in talking to the Terran ambassador—a man of "considerable importance," he is assured.

Oh, wonders the farmer—"What will happen to your home world when this person dies?"

"Nothing."

"It will roll on as before?"

"Yes."

"Round and round the sun?"

"Of course."

"Then if his existence or non-existence makes no difference, he cannot be important," concludes the farmer, and goes about his work.

Others don't even want to talk to the spokesman—one keeps trying to wander off and "see Zeke" instead. And confusion persists as a Terran party tries to locate the local authorities.

"I'm hunting a local bigwig so I can invite him to a feed," explains the spokesman.

"You're going to use up a considerable slice of your life finding a fellow who wears a wig, especially if you insist that it's got to be a big one," reacts the puzzled local.

OBS AND MYOBS

Of course, there *aren't* any local authorities, or even any organized economic structure—possession is based on use and trade is carried on by exchange of "obligations" rather than currency. Terran forces can't conquer the planet because there's nothing to conquer—they are, in fact, not even resisted: just ignored. Except for those who persist in trying to find out just what the setup is—and end by defecting.

Russell's point, of course, is that social and political structures don't have any objective existence—they exist only in people's minds. The people on this particular world don't believe in organized government, so there isn't any—or any way to impose any, short of exterminating them and importing another population that *does* believe in government. And the way Russell makes his point is rib-tickling.

Republication of *The Syndic* and *The Great Explosion* may be symptomatic of a growing interest in libertarian ideas that was dramatized last year by the success of Ursula LeGuin's *The Dispossessed* and a companion piece, "The Day Before the Revolution," both of which have won Nebulas and been nominated for Hugos.

There are even signs of a convergence from traditional right and left wing writers: the Commonalty of Poul Anderson's "Starfog" (1967) is very similar to the Ekumen of LeGuin's *The Left Hand of Darkness* (1969)—both are far-future experiments in free association aimed at avoiding the mistakes of centralized government.

Will science fiction create a new form of social consciousness? It is too early to tell, but the potential is clearly there. ◻

John Pierce's Science Fiction column alternates monthly in REASON *with Davis Keeler's Money column.*

BEHOLDEN TO NONE

The Decline and Fall of Gobble Government

An anti-political novel by Jean Dewees

Can a nation, half free and half slave, long endure? Abraham Lincoln thought not. Can a world? Are citizens getting tired of being kidded by the government? And of kidding themselves? Does conformity destroy initiative? How much independence should young people have? These and a score of related questions facing today's society are carefully probed and answered in this dramatic novel of the nation torn between two violently opposing forces. This is a courageous novel predicting the inexorable wretchedness of our children's future—unless . . .

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movies

• **NASHVILLE** is truly a landmark movie, not so much for its message as for its method of delivery. Like a thousand-piece jigsaw puzzle, Robert Altman's incisive look at the lives of 24 characters gradually takes shape and comes together over a five-day period leading up to an unpredictable and violent climax. The locale is Nashville, Tennessee, and the occasion is the fusion of country music and politics, in preparation for a giant rally in honor of a Wallace-like presidential hopeful. Power and fame are the chief media of exchange here, and the movie brilliantly underscores the almost casual means by which these commodities take their toll on human dignity and happiness. As a larger commentary on the American success ethic, however, the film has only limited application. Joan Tewkesbury's script slides deftly back and forth among the characters, gradually bringing them into sharp focus and into contact with one another. The superb acting seems certain to catapult several unknown and semi-knowns to stardom. Standout performances include Henry Gibson as a country music star with political ambitions, Ronee Blakley as a sweet country singer driven past endurance by her manager-husband, Lily Tomlin as a gospel singer with two deaf children, Geraldine Chaplin as a BBC journalist hopelessly trying to make sense out of Nashville for her British audience, Keith Carradine as a rock musician with an apt theme song ("I'm Easy"), and Barbara Harris as a would-be singer who gets her unexpected big break in the film's stunning finale. Full of off-beat, sometimes savage humor, *Nashville* also features several lively new country songs, many of which were written by members of the cast. In *Nashville,* creativity is contagious. Rated "R."
—Charles F. Barr

• The film adaptation of the best-selling novel **JAWS** has been described as gruesome, shocking and terrifying; and it lives up fully to this reputation, more successfully than its relatively tame rating would suggest. The story of a giant man-eating shark terrorizing a resort community is tailor-made for conjuring up nightmarish fantasies, and by the end of the movie nothing has been left to the imagination. The shark attacks are utterly believable and become progressively more graphic. It is all too easy to forget that a mechanical shark was used for much of the footage. But if the technical mechanics are well disguised, the plot mechanics are not. Peter Benchley and Carl Gottlieb's screenplay serves up too much meat (if such a word is appropriate here) and not enough potatoes. The novel's storyline has been hacked to pieces, and so many of the characters are stock that the situations become all too predictable. Roy Scheider as the Chief of Police, and Murray Hamilton as a merchant more afraid of the publicity than the shark, deliver their lines in emotional straitjackets. Robert Shaw, as the "colorful" local shark hunter, is merely a conventional eccentric. Richard Dreyfuss, as the "shark expert" with more book knowledge than experience, is the most real character in the movie. Much of the film's bloody impact, aided by Steven Spielberg's direction, is achieved by playing to the almost universal fear of violent and messy death, in a situation in which the victim is relatively helpless. But nearly all the shark's victims are minor characters, resulting in plenty of horror but little empathy.
Rated "PG."—**C.F.B.**

Ronee Blakley sings as Henry Gibson and Barbara Baxley applaud in Nashville.

• For his most ambitious and successful movie to date, Woody Allen has created a superb parody of dark, brooding Russian Literature. **LOVE AND DEATH,** a wild take-off on Leo Tolstoy's epic novel *War and Peace,* finds Woody as a reluctant soldier in the Czar's army, beset by physical and psychic anxieties and tormented by unrequited love for his cousin, Diane Keaton. Allen's brand of humor works surprisingly well for such an off-beat subject. He mocks the timeless Russian traditions (literary and otherwise), and sprinkles the plot with frequent anachronisms to keep the audience off balance. One hilarious episode features an 18th century version of an army V.D. training film, staged as a playlet. The action is frequently suspended for sustained bursts of philosophical dialogue between Allen and Keaton, which must be heard to be believed. (One shudders to think what he could do to *Atlas Shrugged!*) Production values are excellent, especially on the large-scale battle scenes. Woody Allen was evidently given a multi-million-dollar budget for *Love And Death;* and judging by the results, he's earned it.
Rated "PG."—**C.F.B.**

• Norman Jewison's **ROLLERBALL** conjures up a futuristic vision of the world controlled by a giant cartel. Nations no longer exist, nor do wars, poverty or material want of any kind. The world is divided geographically into basic product sectors such as Energy, Food, Housing, Transport, Luxury and Communications, each sector managed by a corporation, all of the corporations run by a single Board of Directors. The corporations furnish all of the individual's physical needs and, in return, demand the surrender of individual freedom: all decisions affecting the individual are made by the corporate executives. Such an arrangement is inherently implausible, and no attempt is made to explain what holds this global society together or how it came into existence. Hero James Caan, whose less than memorable performance is worthy of the material he has to cope with, makes a half-hearted effort to uncover some answers, but he needn't have bothered. There are no answers. Rather than representing the triumph of capitalism, the cartel that dominates the world is in effect government masquerading under a corporate label. In this sense *Rollerball* is a singularly pretentious and unintelligent film. It serves merely as an excuse for presenting the game of rollerball, a game of violence that is supposed to provide a vicarious

mass outlet for aggression and competition and to stress the insignificance of the individual and the supremacy of the mindless group. All of this nonsense might be forgiven if the game delivered the excitement and blood lust that the film's rating promises, but it is as clumsy and uninspired as the rest of the film. The one truly entertaining moment is provided by Ralph Richardson, who gives a brilliant cameo performance as a librarian bullying a computer that has lost all of the world's stored knowledge of the Thirteenth Century. As an attempt to suggest a world without government, *Rollerball* is a complete failure; as an attempt at entertainment, it is hardly more successful. Rated "R."—**James F. Carey**

publisher's notes

• **NEW COLUMN:** Beginning next month, REASON will introduce a new column, to be known as "Spotlight." This column will introduce our readers to individuals who are having a significant, positive impact upon the world. We are looking for innovators, entrepreneurs, movers-and-shakers: individualists who exemplify the values we and our readers hold dear—rationality, creativity, courage, independence, etc. Our initial Spotlight will be focused on Louis A. Witzeman, founder and president of Rural/Metro Fire Department, Inc. of Scottsdale, AZ—America's largest and most successful private enterprise fire protection company. We invite our readers to suggest candidates for inclusion in this column. (Send suggestions, including the address of the person suggested, to Spotlight, c/o Reason, Box 6151, Santa Barbara, CA 93111.) Reason Profile, which focused on leading personalities of the libertarian movement, will no longer be carried in REASON.

• **FEDERAL OFFICE BUILDINGS:** Senator Alan Cranston (D-Calif.) is moving his field offices in Los Angeles and San Francisco from federal buildings into private office buildings—in order to save rent. Cranston told the *Los Angeles Times* (July 16) that moving his two field offices will reduce his rent in excess of $10,000 a year. Despite the fact that the federal buildings are not subject to the substantial property taxes which must be paid on private real estate, the federal government's rentals for comparable space significantly exceed nearby private buildings. A Cranston aide complained about the frustrations of dealing with the General Services Administration, which sets and collects rent for federal buildings, saying, "their [rent] bills are literally different every month. We go crazy just trying to deal with these people."

The *Los Angeles Times* editorialized (July 17) that Cranston's experience should set in motion a thorough investigation of the GSA's real estate operations. The *Times* noted that taxpayers must continue to pay for the two federal office buildings which Cranston is abandoning, but "if this is par for the course, who needs federal office buildings?" Instead of forcing taxpayers to subsidize bureaucratic inefficiency, we'd like to see the federal government sell off all of its office buildings, so they can be operated by private enterprise. And while Senator Cranston's in the mood for reform, we urge him to take further steps towards reducing the present cost to taxpayers of supporting members of Congress—which, as computed by the *Christian Science Monitor* (Jan. 29), currently runs at an average annual cost of $610,000 per member of Congress.

• **MAIL STRIKE?:** As we go to press, four postal workers unions are scheduled to strike if no settlement is reached. If the postal unions go on strike, delivery of this issue may be delayed. The U.S. Postal Service recently disclosed that the CIA has—contrary to prior denials—been involved in a 20-year mail surveillance program which included intercepting mail between the Soviet Union and the U.S. and retaining it indefinitely. If the postal unions go on strike, it looks like the only government employees who will be handling the mail will be the CIA.

• **OFFICIAL LIES:** Senator Edward Kennedy has introduced a bill that would make it a crime for government officials to knowingly mislead or lie to the public. Recognizing that it's already a crime for a private citizen to lie to government officials (such as the SEC or IRS), it's nice to see a politician making this proposal. We're not sure whether Teddy really intends to outlaw lying by politicians (after all, the JFK administration asserted that the government had a right to lie, and we certainly don't expect Teddy to tell the whole Chappaquiddick story if his bill passes).

We don't think Teddy's bill has anything to do with it, but we're quite impressed by some of California Governor Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown's frank statements since he's been elected to office (see REASON, July issue, p. 17). In 1972, Brown told REASON editor Manuel Klausner that he was a libertarian. Although we then thought of him more as a civil-libertarian type who advocated big government, based on much of his performance to date, maybe he knew more about libertarianism in 1972 than we gave him credit for. In any event, we were amused to see Brown's response to a reporter who recently asked him whether he might run for President. As reported by the *Los Angeles Times* (July 3), Brown replied: "Are you kidding? I think even the governorship is a pain in the ass." ◻

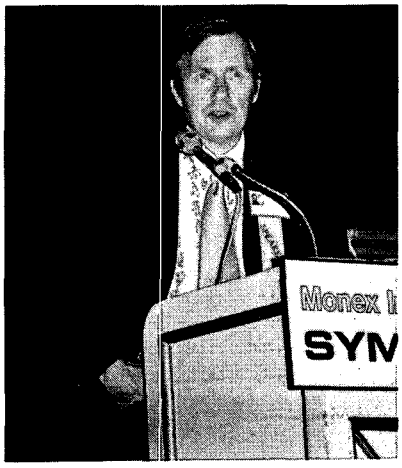
"Let me know if any of them is putting up a performance bond..."

frontlines

MONEX SYMPOSIUM

Frontlines correspondent **Robert Poole, Jr.** reports:

From June 15th through 18th some 200 people attended a unique monetary conference in Los Angeles. Called "The Economy in Crisis," the gathering brought together a number of ex-government administrators, economists, writers, and investment advisors to agonize over the causes of our current economic predicament, project what lies ahead, and offer advice on what can be done—both to change things and to protect oneself in the meantime. Monex International, Ltd. (formerly Pacific Coast Coin Exchange) sponsored the event, which was held at the plush Beverly Wilshire Hotel.



BRUCE LAGASSE

Donald Hoppe discusses economic matters at Monex seminar.

The first day and a half explored the role of government in causing the economic crisis, via inflation, costly regulations, the growth of the welfare state, etc. Featured speakers included **Roy Ash,** former director, and **Fred Malek,** former assistant director of the Office of Management and Budget; **Rep. Philip Crane;** economists **Hans Sennholz, Norbert Einstein, Arthur Laffer, Wesley Hillendahl, William Niskanen,** and **Murray Weidenbaum;** *Mining Engineering* editor **Eugene Guccione;** and former FPC commissioner **Rush Moody.** The next day's session on economists and the press featured **Leonard Silk** of the *New York Times,* **Irving Kristol** of *The Public Interest,* and **M. Stanton Evans** of the American Conservative Union. The final sessions focused on investment strategies and included such leading lights as **Eliot Janeway, John McFalls, John van Eck, Donald Hoppe, James Sinclair, James McKeever, Nicholas Deak,** and **Otto Roethenmund.**

One of the highlights of the conference was to have been a speech by Nobel prize-winning economist **F. A. Hayek.** Unfortunately, Hayek was unable to appear, but his paper on inflation and unemployment was read by Monex's director of research, **Dr. Patrick Boarman.** Hayek attacked the Keynesian formulas for inflation-induced prosperity, identifying Keynes' popularity with the fact that he supplied politicians with the kind of economics that allowed them to be re-elected. In Hayek's view, inflation eventually leads to unemployment by distorting investment and production; inflation is therefore self-defeating as a "cure" for unemployment, despite its apparent short-term job-creating effects.

Hans Sennholz considers today's inflation the second stage in a long-term process of wealth redistribution. The first phase was aimed at the rich, via income taxes, while the second is aimed squarely at the middle class, via inflation. Sennholz sees little prospect of changing things, and recommends keeping one's savings solely in non-monetary form (precious metals and land). Economists Wes Hillendahl of the Bank of Hawaii and Bill Niskanen of Ford Motor Co. called for strict separation of government and the economy, with Niskanen urging consideration of a new constitution that would restrict government to its proper, limited role. Weidenbaum and Guccione blasted government regulation, citing extensive examples of its escalating cost to business and consumers, while former FPC commissioner Moody opined that only a modern-day equivalent of the Boston Tea Party could halt the onrushing expansion of government regulation. (Moody, incidentally, predicted that unless energy regulations are removed at once, energy rationing is a sure thing within the next two years.) Former OMB director Ash explained the recent expansion of the welfare state, and showed that if present spending trends continue, by the year 2000 some 57 percent of the GNP will go to government, and "the producers of this country will have become slaves."

These brief highlights only begin to give the general tenor of the conference, which was far more openly anti-State than most such events. Whether this heightened awareness of the problem will lead to any meaningful change, however, remains to be seen.

C.O.Y.O.T.E. HOWLS

San Francisco was the scene of a victimless crimes conference held by **C.O.Y.O.T.E. (Call Off Your Old Tired Ethics)** on Saturday, June 21. COYOTE is an organization started by both prostitutes and others dedicated to the decriminalization of prostitution. The convention was held on the same day as the one-day prostitues' strike held in San Francisco, which was in support of the massive prostitutes' strike in France.

A luncheon was held which included such speakers as **Dr. Jennifer James,** an anthropologist who talked about the victimless crime aspect of prostitution, and **Dr. George Hilton,** free-market economist from U.C.L.A., who talked about prostitution as a restricted market, and the problems of restricted markets in general. Later in the afternoon, workshops were held on such subjects as "Social and Political Issues of Prostitution" and "Prostitution as Emotional Therapy."

BRUCE LAGASSE

Rep. Phillip Crane (R.-IL) addresses Monex seminar.

Margo St. James, founder of COYOTE, explained that the emphasis should *not* be on *legalization,* as in some areas of Nevada, but on *decriminalization,* which would eliminate all government control. "Legalization only leads to the government being the pimp, taking away the prostitutes' money through taxation and regulation."

June Genis, former Libertarian candidate for Palo Alto, CA School Board was the **Libertarian Party** representative at the conference. In conversation with some of the speakers and attendees, Ms. Genis found a number of them acquainted with the L.P. and many more receptive to the literature. She said that she felt that libertarians should put more emphasis on working with COYOTE and other groups organized to fight their own repression by government. "Prostitutes understand better than most people what a restricted market can do to their livelihood, and it is in their best interests to work for a free market," said Ms. Genis.

For more information about COYOTE write to COYOTE, Box 26354, San Francisco, CA 94126, or call (415) 441-8118; or write to the L.P. liaison, June Genis, P.O. Box 11561, Palo Alto, CA 94306.

OKLAHOMA LP MEETS

On June 14, over 60 people attended the 1975 State Convention of the **Libertarian Party of Oklahoma** in Oklahoma City. Since the business session of the convention had been postponed until July 19-20, all attention was on the featured speakers and workshops. **Wichita Collegiate School's Henry Hildebrand's** dry wit and bright presentation belied the dismal economic future he sees for the United States; **Henry Hohenstein,** author of *The IRS Conspiracy,* detailed some of the many abuses of the Infernal Revenue Service as well as handing out a few tips on how to keep (some of) your money from the Feds; and **Susan Love Brown,** vice-chairwoman of the LP of California, shared her views on the practicality of the Libertarian Party, with special regard to women and racial and cultural minorities.

Those who attended the banquet following the convention heard remarks by **Porter Davis,** Convention Director; **John Vernon,** former independent libertarian candidate for the Oklahoma City City Council; and **D. Frank Robinson,** founding chairman of the Oklahoma LP, with the keynote address delivered by Hank Hohenstein. The special guest of the evening was **Kay Harroff** of Ohio, whose presentation of one of her 1974 U.S. Senate campaign addresses and announcement of her candidacy for the Libertarian Party Presidential nomination brought the crowd to its feet in a standing ovation. Ms. Harroff's candidacy was later unanimously endorsed by the convention.

John Aynesworth and **Al Fiegel** arranged excellent media coverage, with several newspaper stories before and after the convention. In addition, the speakers and the convention received over 10 hours of radio and television time on various talk shows, interview programs, and news spots. Even more coverage was attracted the day before the convention by a press conference in which Porter Davis, as LPO spokesman, blasted Oklahoma Governor David Boren's 36 percent increase in state spending.

More information on the OLP can be obtained by writing to **Thomas Laurent,** 116 S. 19th St., Guthrie, OK 73044.

NONE OF THE ABOVE INITIATIVE STARTED IN CALIFORNIA

Petitions to put the option "None of the Above is Acceptable" on all election ballots in California has been started by the **Libertarian Party of California.** The initiative drive, if successful, would put a proposition on the June 1976 primary ballot which would propose the None of the Above option to California voters. In order to place the initiative on the ballot, 315,000 signatures must be obtained before the deadline, sometime in late December of this year.

BRYAN REMER

Hank Hohenstein addresses the Oklahoma LP convention.

David Bergland, the chief organizer of the initiative, explained that the initiative, unlike some legislative proposals, would have

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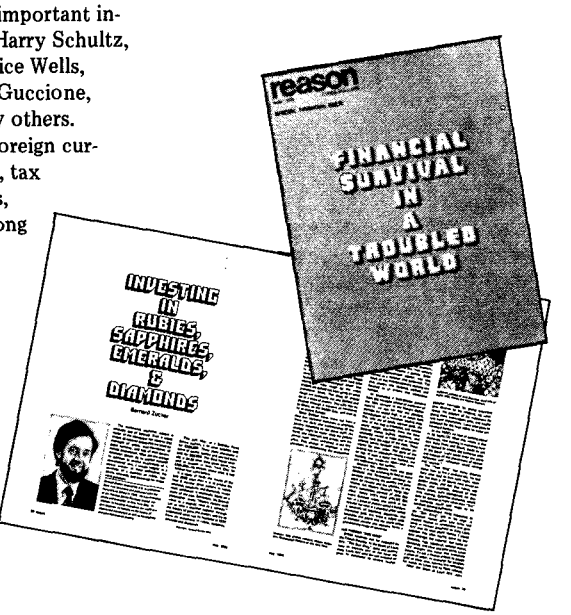
REASON's first annual Special Financial Issue is destined to become a collector's item. The issue features important insights and advice by Dr. Harry Schultz, Thomas J. Holt, Alden Rice Wells, Alexander Paris, Eugene Guccione, Donald Hoppe, and many others. Gold, silver, real estate, foreign currency trading, gemstones, tax havens, numismatic coins, and Dow Theory are among the many topics covered. Order yours now while supplies last.



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the effect of leaving the office vacant if None of the Above *won* a plurality of the votes. A vacancy would then be filled either by special election or appointment, as now provided under state law. Bergland explained that "while it would be unconstitutional to prohibit one of the losing candidates from running in the special election, there *is* a provision in the initiative which prohibits a losing candidate from being appointed." The None of the Above option would only apply to general elections, and would not apply to primary elections or presidential elector elections.

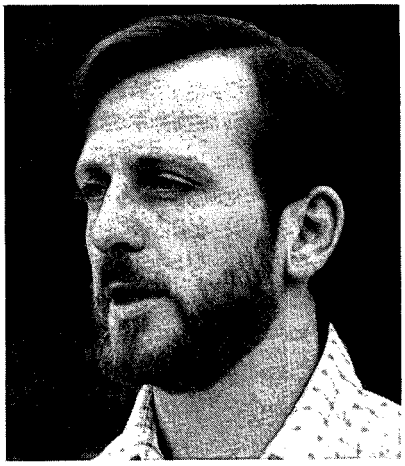
The idea of placing None of the Above on the ballot has received tremendous acclaim from all around California. If you wish to sign or circulate the petition, contribute money, or help out any other way, write to the **Committee for None of the Above,** c/o Libertarian Party, P.O. Box 2347, Huntington Beach, CA 92647; P.O. Box 2617, San Francisco, CA 94126; P.O. Box 71383, Los Angeles, CA 90071; or call (213) 345-FREE.

FEMINISTS TO MEET

The **Association of Libertarian Feminists (ALF)** will hold their first national conference the week of the national Libertarian Party Convention, August 25 through 31, in New York City. Those interested in participating or wishing more information should contact **Tonie Nathan,** P.O. Box 10152, Eugene, OR 97401. Temporary officers are: Tonie Nathan, president; **Sharon Presley,** vice-president; **Kay Harroff,** secretary; **Patricia Artz,** treasurer. A national newsletter is projected for distribution beginning August, 1975 and contributions on anything having to do with feminism are welcome.

ALP President Tonie Nathan presents feminist case.

Meanwhile, a coalition of feminists who petitioned for a "women's rights" council to be funded by the City of Eugene, Oregon, received unexpected opposition when ALP President pro-tem Tonie Nathan denounced them as "just another special interest group seeking political favoritism." Ms. Nathan said ALF would like to see more justice in the treatment of women by both public and private agencies, but not at the expense of the taxpayer. The statement received statewide media attention.



Activist Jim Trotter speaks at the Texas LP convention.

TEXAS LP CONVENTION

The **Libertarian Party of Texas** held its annual convention June 27-29 in Austin, with approximately 50 people attending the convention workshops, general sessions, and banquet. Many new platform planks were added and the constitution and bylaws were rewritten. The high point of the convention came when **Kay Harroff,** candidate for the LP nomination for President, and **Jim Trotter,** candidate for the LP nomination for Vice-President, spoke on Saturday evening (for more information on Harroff and Trotter, see "Frontlines," August 1975): Trotter, a former New-Leftist turned libertarian, talked about the need for libertarians to appeal to the leftist element of society. Harroff, former libertarian candidate for U.S. Senate from Ohio, talked about the need for libertarians to start relating to nonlibertarians in general, and she gave an example of one of her campaign speeches aimed at nonlibertarians, which received a standing ovation. Both Harroff and Trotter obtained the endorsement of virtually the entire Texas delegation to the national convention (the second largest delegation in the country).

On Sunday, election of new officers took place. New TLP officers include **Lonnie Brantley,** chairperson; **Bill Howell,** vice-chairperson; and **Harry Robinson,** secretary. More information on the TLP can be obtained by writing to 1023 E. Shaw, Pasadena, TX 77506, or calling (713) 477-8325.

MORE MAGAZINES

Continuing our listing of small libertarian periodicals which Frontlines readers might find of interest [see "Frontlines," July 1975 for earlier list]:

- *LIMIT!,* national newsletter of the **Libertarian Republican Alliance; Joseph Gentili,** editor; monthly at $2.50 a year; Limit, 1811 E. 34th St., Brooklyn, NY 11234.

- *Southern Libertarian Review,* **Eric Scott Royce,** editor; monthly newsletter of commentary on national politics and the libertarian movement; $6.00 a year; E. S. Royce, 3830 S. 6th St., Arlington, VA 22204.

- *Colorado Libertarian,* monthly newsletter of the **Colorado LP;** $3.00 a year; **John James,** editor; 411 Cook St., Denver, CO 80206.

- *Arizona Liberty;* investment advisor **Rene Baxter,** editor; monthly newsletter of the **Arizona LP;** $3.00 a year; P.O. Box 501, Phoenix, AZ 85001.

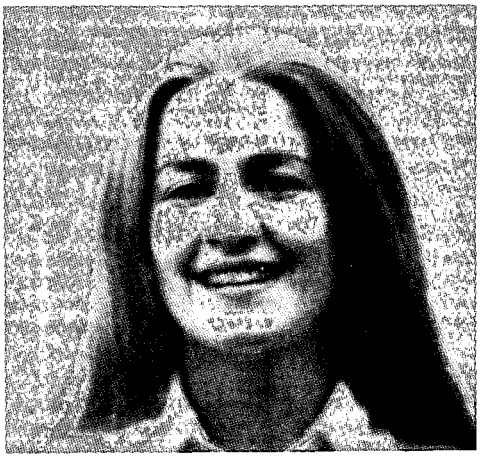
NEWS AND NOTES

A list of *Some Hard-to-Locate Sources of Information* has been compiled by **Jim Corbett.** The list, in its fifth edition, includes periodicals, organizations, and book traders, mostly of the conservative or libertarian persuasions. Copies may be obtained from Jim Corbett, 762 Ave. "N", S.E., Winter Haven, FL 33880, for $1 apiece . . . **The California Libertarian Alliance** has recently opened in the Los Angeles area the "Dawn of Liberty" bookstore and reading room, with books and periodicals from extreme left, extreme right, and libertarian viewpoints. It is located at 1333 W. Washington Bl., Free Venice, CA (Mailing address P.O. Box 1202, Free Venice, CA 90291) . . . **Missouri Young Americans for Freedom,** is a conservative group that welcomes libertarians as well as traditionalists. They are working on a number of projects of interest to Missouri Libertarians, including: a Zero Government Growth campaign, working against bond issues and tax increases, sponsoring a "Discover Capitalism" week on the campuses this fall, and working for the end to mandatory fee financing of PIRGs. For more information write Missuori YAF, 8015 Forsyth, Room 107-B, Clayton, MO 63105, or phone (314) 862-7296.

This column is concerned with activities out on the "frontlines" of the battle for freedom, and with the people who are the strategists, tacticians and troops.

Please send material for inclusion in FRONTLINES *to Lynn Kinsky at REASON, Box 6151, Santa Barbara, CA 93111.*

CANDIDATES for LIBERTY



A NEW DIRECTION

SANFORD COHEN

Dear Libertarian,

If anyone had told me three months ago that I would be involved in Libertarian politics in 1975—much less managing two campaigns—I would have said that he or she was being totally unrealistic. But as I listened to the politicians and news media dismiss 1975 as an "off-year for politics," I realized that Libertarians can't afford to let freedom have any more off-years.

So, a month ago, Ellen Davis announced her candidacy for Dutchess County Executive. Already she has received an unusual amount of news media attention. The same is true for Carole Cohen who announced her candidacy for Mayor of Poughkeepsie a week later.

You who are reading this letter should be proud because you have contributed greatly to our accomplishments. Thanks to individuals like you, we in the Mid-Hudson Valley are continuing to attack statism from a position of strength and credibility. We have worked hard for two years, and we have established a flourishing mini-stronghold of Libertarian influence. We are now strengthening and expanding that influence with our new campaigns. We could not have accomplished what we have without your financial support and motivating interest.

In 1975 we in Dutchess County want to quadruple our past vote totals. Ellen and Carole are hard-working, intelligent, eloquent and—above all—Libertarians. I am thoroughly convinced that their campaigns will help us to achieve our common goals; the rights to life, liberty, and justly acquired property. I urge you to invest in Ellen's and Carole's campaigns with the same enthusiasm that you demonstrated for mine. Contribute as much as you can to CANDIDATES FOR LIBERTY. We in the Mid-Hudson Valley have no intention of letting 1975 be an "off-year" for freedom.

Sincerely,

Sandy

Sanford Cohen

P.S. Make all contributions payable to **CANDIDATES FOR LIBERTY, BOX 1776, POUGHKEEPSIE, NY 12601**

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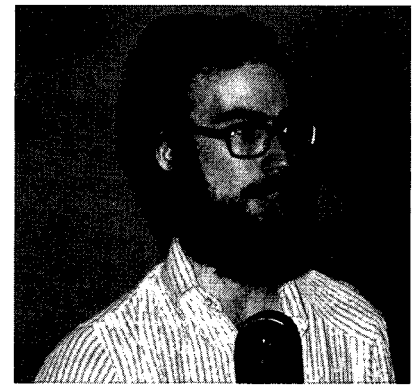
reason profile

Charles Curley is best known as the author of *The Coming Profit in Gold,* published in December 1974 by Bantam. "Basically," he says, "what I did was to take the questions that people have been asking me for three years, and put the answers into book form." The actual writing took eight weeks, but it followed three years of research and work on behalf of the National Committee to Legalize Gold. Active with the Committee since its inception in 1971, Curley gathered publicity for it by taking a bar of gold into a Congressional hearing in 1973. (His Volkswagen, "The Gold Bug," carries license plates "NCLG!" and appropriate bumper stickers!)

Curley has been active in Young Americans for Freedom since 1970, and achieved notoriety of a sort by nominating Nobody for President at the 1971 YAF convention. (The nomination was mentioned in a *New York Times* editorial.) His experiences in YAF and the Connecticut LP convinced him that he was not cut out for group activity. "For me, the typewriter is mightier than the committee."

As a result he started a full time writing career with two articles in the *New Guard,* immediately followed by the sale and publication of his book. Since then, he has written for REASON, *Gold Newsletter, New Libertarian Notes,* and *The Freeman,* among other publications. In addition, he writes and edits *The Charles Curley Letter,* a monthly publication that has been coming out "more or less regularly" since January 1974. He now writes economic and political commentary for *The Numisco Letter,* an investment letter published in Chicago.

After writing his book in August 1974, he pulled up stakes, and traveled from New York to Los Angeles, with stops in Vermont, Connecticut, Florida, and other places, arriving in L.A. in February. "I had some money, and I just decided to take off, and sample parts of the country, and try living in another part for a while." Now settled in L.A., Curley travels around



CHARLES CURLEY

the country, covering or speaking at investment conferences all over the U.S.

When not a professional gold bug or economic writer, Curley likes to relax by sailing or playing chess, or working with his hands. He has in the past earned his living as a mechanic, a machinist, and as a yacht skipper, all of which he enjoys immensely on his own as well as for pay. ◻

letters

LIVING LIBERTY

The principle that man should neither sacrifice himself to others *nor* others to himself, provides the guide to rational libertarian conduct. It is a natural law principle founded on the nature of man and reality. The man who would sacrifice himself to others is willing to submit to being a slave. The man who sacrifices his fellows is a tyrant.

Those who *willingly* work for the State or who receive money from the same, are sacrificing their taxpaying neighbors. These latter are robbed to pay for the living of the parasitical class. The fact that the market doesn't voluntarily support them, means that they are nonproductive even if they do exert their energies in some manner *not* freely sought by those who foot the bill. Some are not only nonproductive but also antiproductive, if I may coin a term. These are the many bureaucrats, legislators and executives who make it continually harder for those who do produce in the marketplace. Examples are much too numerous to detail here.

Approximately one out of every five Americans "works" for the government as a willing employee. Scores more receive from the till in the form of some kind of welfare payment. Those of us working in the market and consuming in that market, pay dearly to maintain this leviathan monster. The head of this creature is a ruling class composed of persons such as the Rockefellers and the Kennedys. The tail is those such as are living on social security and other extracted stolen crumbs as well as those getting a small income as a lowly lackey employee of any agency of government.

Libertarians who believe they can advocate liberty but don't have to live it, are betraying the same. We may be coerced at the point of a gun but we do *not* have to volunteer or sanction a step in the direction of our enemies. Too many do this, making tyranny possible. When enough of us decide to *live* the doctrine of liberty without compromise, then we shall surely prevail and win liberty in our time.

Michael A. Nash
Memphis, TN

LONGLEY BANDWAGON

Libertarians now have an unusual opportunity to secure a state governorship and a major presidential candidate. Governor James Longley of Maine was elected as an independent on a platform of cutting the costs of government. He appears to be ripe for conversion to libertarianism.

I would suggest that the Libertarian Party invite Longley to join the party and seek its presidential nomination. Libertarians around the country can assist by writing to Longley in support of the move. Even if it does not succeed, the campaign will get some national publicity for libertarian principles.

N. G. M. Steyskal
Gaithersburg, MD

FREE WILL?

I have to agree with many of Randy Erickson's comments ["Letters," May]. Not having read *Beyond Freedom and Dignity,* I won't comment on Skinner's views in detail, but the idea of freedom—free will—strikes me as a thoroughgoing error. In the first place, *if* human actions *are* determined (not in the sense that they are human actions and therefore expressions of human nature, but in the sense that they are occurrences in the physical world

and necessitated by antecedent conditions) and we subscribe to free will, we will never gain knowledge of how human actions are determined—free will simply amounts to placing a sign "Here you shall not investigate" over certain aspects of human action.

In the second place, as I believe Skinner argues, "free will" serves as a blinder that prevents people from understanding the actual origins and motives of those choices (typically moral commitments) which they have made, and thus serves powerfully as an aid to authoritarianism—just as a Christian's insisting that God's Voice dictates his morality covers up the much more mundane origins of that morality.

In the third place, belief in free will is an outright invitation to psychological self-deception. All of this, as Erickson pointed out, can be found in Nietzsche. Further, accurate knowledge of the actual causes of events—while it is value-neutral and can be used as a tool of enslavement—is also the most powerful of all possible weapons in the effort of self-liberation. I certainly don't agree with Skinner's positivism, phenomenalism, and reduction of science to statistical correlation functions—in fact, I think they rest on the very assumption of consciousness-as-nonphysical-process which he claims to reject, and which Wittgenstein and Ryle showed to be invalid—but his intellectual intentions, at least, are the right ones, however badly he carries them out and however repugnant his social views may be. Personally, I would consider scientific knowledge of conditioning processes a valuable tool of liberation—a few gifted people have been using an intuitive talent for this for centuries, against which the less gifted manipulators may now finally be able to defend themselves.

William Stoddard
Chula Vista, CA

Reason's Letter of the Month

The letter below, by subscriber Frank W. Bubb III, appeared in the May 29, 1975 issue of the *Richmond Times-Dispatch:*

PROHIBITION OF DRUGS SAID CAUSE OF CRIME

Part of The Times-Dispatch's recent series on crime in Richmond claimed that the link between drugs and crime is still unclear. The author's conclusion is not surprising, since he failed to analyze the issue from an economic standpoint.

It is not drugs themselves which cause crime, but governmental prohibition of drugs. When government outlaws a drug its supply falls, causing its price to rise. Addicts must spend more to maintain their habit. Most addicts cannot support a $100-a-day heroin habit, for example, without stealing.

If heroin were legalized, a habit would cost only a few dollars per day. The economic need of addicts to steal would disappear. Our society includes several million alcohol addicts, yet there is no constantly publicized link between alcohol and theft. If the government were to cause the price of a bottle of liquor to increase from $5 to $100, such a link might appear.

Governmental prohibition of drugs also aids organized crime. When government outlaws a product, suppliers who cannot bear the risk of breaking the law leave the market to those who can—the criminal underworld. Governmental prohibition of liquor half a century ago created the criminal underworld, and its prohibition of drugs (and gambling and prostitution) sustains the criminal underworld now.

The American people see the link between drugs and crime. But in attempting to reduce crime by redoubling efforts to stamp out drugs, they are mistaking the accelerator for the brake. The more strenuously government tries to prohibit drugs, the more street crime and organized crime will increase.

Frank W. Bubb III
Richmond, VA

REASON subscribers are encouraged to write letters to the editor of their favorite newspaper, magazine, or journal, presenting libertarian views on topics of current interest. Each month REASON selects the most notable published letter for republication in this space, and honors the writer by a six-month extension of his or her REASON subscription. Send copies of your published letters to Reason Letter of the Month, Box 6151, Santa Barbara, CA 93111.

IMMIGRATION QUOTAS

Adrian Day, your British correspondent ["Foreign Correspondent," June], calls Enoch Powell "a man of proven consistency and real understanding of capitalism and the free society, a man who was the first to openly challenge the collectivism and corporatism within the Tory party." In a book recently published by Arlington House, Powell presents a rather different picture of himself. One of his chapters calls for immigration controls strict enough to "encourage" blacks to leave Britain (current laws already limit the immigration of non-Europeans to less than 15,000 a year). Powell bases his argument on a series of anecdotes, such as the story of a racist old lady who ran a boarding-house in a predominantly black neighborhood somewhere in England. Because she refused to rent to blacks, she could not compete with neighbors who did, and finally applied for welfare. The welfare administrator rejected her application, advising her to accept black tenants instead. Now, a libertarian writer would have used the above story to argue that legislation against racism is superfluous: the forces of the market are enough. Powell, however, has great sympathy for the racist biddy. His solution is to bar blacks from England, since it was their presence which caused the racist's boarding-house to become noncompetitive.

Ownership implies the right to choose one's tenants, but it does not release one from having to live with the economic consequences of one's actions and choices. Ownership also implies the right to rent or sell one's property without regard for the customer's presence on an immigration official's list of government-approved people. When immigration laws forcibly exclude anyone from the market for one's property, property rights are violated. Restrictions on immigration derive from a belief that existing collective privileges of native racists are more important than individual rights, such as the free-trade rights of nonracists and would-be immigrants. Anyone who advocates racial restrictions on immigration is necessarily a collectivist—of the racist variety—and clearly without the vaguest grasp of the concept of individual rights. If Enoch Powell is a consistent advocate of the free society, then I'm the Queen of England.

Adam V. Reed
New York, NY

Mr. Day replies: I was unfortunately unable to trace the text which Her Majesty Adam Reed uses for his argument, but I suspect that he has misunderstood some of Mr. Powell's reasoning. Mr. Powell has called for severe controls on immigration from the New Commonwealth into Britain and he has also suggested repatriation grants as an alternative to aid to developing countries. His motives are quite clear from his numerous speeches on the subject; he wishes to avoid the racial conflict which has already begun in Britain from developing into the dimensions of the conflict in America.

Queen Adam misses the point of the anecdotes which Mr. Powell uses. They are not "the basis of his argument," but rather illustrations of the nature of the feeling among ordinary English people which are used in connection with his central theme. (There was, incidentally, a surplus of almost 90,000 people from the New Commonwealth (Africa, West Indies, India) entering the country over those leaving during 1974—the highest figure for 15 years. Coloured immigration into Britain is not on the decline.)

When the government has distorted the market, then sometimes distortions are necessary to restore the balance. When immigrants from the New Commonwealth can receive welfare payments from the moment they land on Britain's shores, when "free" medical care and housing is similarly available, then it is fair to say that the government has already grossly distorted the pattern of immigration.

So many factors are involved in the discussion of black immigration into Britain that it would be difficult to capsulize all the arguments. Too many factors prevent the immediate application of an "open door" policy without a similar free market approach being applied in other fields. Mr. Powell recognizes the value of the free market in this field. He has written that "the free world has too long denied itself the right to proclaim that the market economy which it opposes to communism is the most effective enemy of discrimination between individuals, classes and races."

For those interested in pursuing this matter further, or indeed savouring some of Mr. Powell's thoughts on other issues, I refer to them to collections of his speeches, especially "Freedom and Reality."—A.D.

PRINCIPLED OPPOSITION

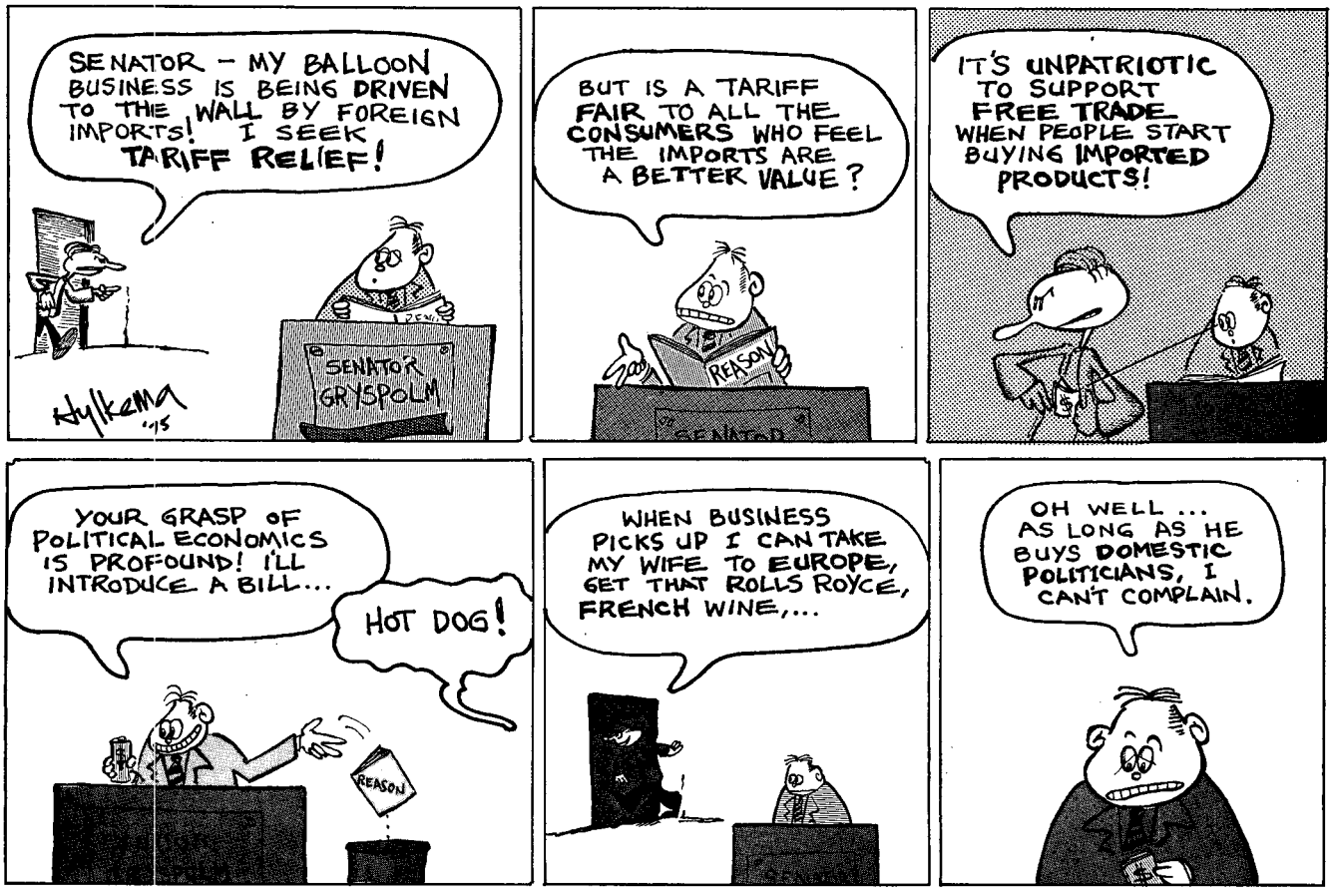
I received my first issue of REASON magazine [May] and thoroughly enjoyed it. Thank you.

I would like to comment, however, on a letter in that issue by John Yiamouyiannis which left me rather upset and concerned. Concerned both for the libertarian image and the sufferers from tooth decay. As a dentist and an aspiring libertarian I can agree in principle with the opposition to compulsory fluoridation of the public water supply, for as Dr. Rothbard pointed out there are alternate methods available for persons who so desire. I strongly disagree, however, with the use of falsehoods to further the argument against fluoridation. There is a long and growing list of evidence that attests to the safety and efficacy of fluoridation, including the fact that many areas of our country have naturally occurring fluorides in the water.

In my daily practice I see the tremendous benefits derived from dietary supplements of fluoride, and from the application of fluorides to the teeth. For libertarians to use misinformation and "scare" techniques to turn people from the use of fluorides is not only a gross disservice to individuals who might otherwise benefit, but tends to negate the argument against *compulsory* fluoridation on the basis of principle. People are becoming increasingly aware of the benefits of fluoridation, and if libertarians ignore this fact when they espouse their anti-*compulsory* fluoridation views they will discredit themselves and the libertarian movement. The use of false and misleading information will certainly be recognized and serve only to equate libertarians with other vocal, unprincipled crackpots.

The libertarian movement is important to all of us, but it is libertarian *principles* that are of fundamental importance. Our arguments therefore must be grounded on libertarian principles, and not on "fluoride is poisonous." If the libertarian move-

rudebarbs RANDALL K HYLKEMA


SENATOR - MY BALLOON BUSINESS IS BEING DRIVEN TO THE WALL BY FOREIGN IMPORTS! I SEEK TARIFF RELIEF!
SENATOR GRYSPOLM
BUT IS A TARIFF FAIR TO ALL THE CONSUMERS WHO FEEL THE IMPORTS ARE A BETTER VALUE?
REASON
IT'S UNPATRIOTIC TO SUPPORT FREE TRADE WHEN PEOPLE START BUYING IMPORTED PRODUCTS!
YOUR GRASP OF POLITICAL ECONOMICS IS PROFOUND! I'LL INTRODUCE A BILL...
HOT DOG!
REASON
WHEN BUSINESS PICKS UP I CAN TAKE MY WIFE TO EUROPE, GET THAT ROLLS ROYCE, FRENCH WINE,...
OH WELL... AS LONG AS HE BUYS DOMESTIC POLITICIANS, I CAN'T COMPLAIN.

ment is to survive and grow it must be synonymous with honesty and integrity. Our arguments and persuasions must be based upon truth.

So let's be opposed to compulsory fluoridation on the principles of individual liberty as we understand them, but let truth, honesty and integrity be our guides lest we throw out the (libertarian) baby with the (fluoridated) bathwater.

Donald E. Gerhardt
APO, NY

SUPERNATURAL LAW

I found William Marina's article "Surviving in the Interstices" in the June issue very interesting and requiring some comment.

Marina says that "in the final analysis, there are only three bases upon which to construct values and thus a system of legitimacy: supernatural law, natural law, and statist, positive law. While pockets of believers in supernatural law exist, it is unlikely they will ever form a majority capable of challenging the existence of statist, positivist law. We are, therefore, left with natural law as a possible source for a new legitimacy."

This observation is interesting for two reasons: first, it leads Marina into gross error when he says that "Christianity came to dominate, before its own unfortunate cooptation by the State, because it developed a superior ethic based upon natural law . . ." Are the Ten Commandments natural law? Is the Sermon on the Mount natural law? Are the commandments contained in the New Testament Epistles natural law? Hardly. Christian law is supernatural to the core; suicide was not rejected by the Christians because it was "unnatural" as Marina says, but because God had said "Thou shalt do no murder," and "Do you [Christians] not know you [Christians] are the temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwells in you? If anyone defiles the temple of God, God will destroy him, for the temple of God (which you are) is holy." According to Christianity, it is natural for men to sin; nature is not normative; human nature is depraved and physical nature is cursed. It is revealing that Marina should choose an example of the success of "pockets of believers in supernatural law" to illustrate the unlikelihood of the success of supernatural law and the "necessity" for adherence to natural law. Had he been present during the collapse of Rome he would have been among those Romans who were trying to patch up the fatal defects of the empire by appeals to natural law.

Second, Marina rejects supernatural law not on logical grounds, but on pragmatic grounds. I can just hear the old Roman saying that "those crazy Christians will never succeed because the Roman people are too sophisticated to believe in this childish nonsense called Christianity. Therefore, we are left with natural law as the only possible source for a new legitimacy." Because he is concerned with his subjective judgment of what is likely to happen, Marina pays no attention to the logical impossibility of deriving the "ought" from the "is." Natural law is logical nonsense. Ayn Rand is one of the more recent writers who has tried to derive logically the "ought" from the "is," but I have demonstrated her failure in my book *Answer To Ayn Rand.* My criticisms of her argument apply to all efforts to deduce normative statements from existential propositions.

Unfortunately, the adherents of natural law are notoriously weak in logic, and they pursue their efforts to derive natural law from a nature red in tooth and claw oblivious to the futility of their undertaking.

Christianity succeeded because it was supernatural, not natural. Nothing less will succeed today.

John W. Robbins
Arlington, VA

HAPPINESS IS . . .

According to REASON's IBM (or SCR or Honeywell) printout, I'm about to have my subscription lapse. I received a previous notice—to which I didn't respond—and I'd like to give you a little bit of the subjective background behind my reasoning: perhaps it'll give a slight boost to all the people involved with REASON.

Over the past year, I was impressed with some articles, bored by others, and kinda "so-so" to some. As a "dyed-in-the-wool" Randian, I responded with less-than-enthusiasm to some of the *political* writings of various contributors. To be frank, I was "bored-to-tears" by some of the internecine, adolescent, infighting.

When I received my first notice about renewal, I ignored it: I told my wife, "THEY haven't said anything that Rand hasn't already said!!!" O.K., firm decision, ignore the pleas.

Then I received the June 1975 issue of REASON. Mr. David P. Bergland, ("Low Profile Tax Resistance") just saved us about $2000 a year—for the foreseeable future—in Federal and state income taxes.

> "The secret is to spend the money on something that you want to spend it on anyway, but to have the expenditure labeled 'tax deductible.' " (p. 35)

Eureka! All of a sudden, our ideas about organic gardening, homesteading, self-sufficiency and tax-avoidance fell into place. As we're in the $30,000-plus bracket, we need all the aid we can obtain: Bergland's article *did it* for us. Consequently, I'm enclosing a check for $27 for a three-year renewal to REASON: if the articles like Bergland's continue, it will be the most productive investment I've ever made.

Dr. John B. Fosse
Victorville, CA

MISTAKE

I wish to call your attention to an obvious error in Alexander Paris' "An Investor's Timetable for the Coming Credit Collapse" in the June issue of REASON.

The last sentence on p. 16 states: "In spite of the huge amount of short-term debt that has been funded, cash & equivalents/current liabilities (the best measure of liquidity) has declined from a peak exceeding $1 to a weak 18¢ at present."

As you, of course, know, the ratio is usually expressed as 2 to 1, 2.5 to 1, 3 to 1, etc. and may be expressed as a percentage, but cannot possibly be expressed as $1 or 18¢, etc.

I don't see how this could be a typographical error, yet cannot understand such an

COMING NEXT MONTH

The censorship of allegedly "obscene" materials is no different in principle from the censorship of other ideas, and lays the basis for full-scale government thought control. This subject is explored in the October issue of REASON. In an exclusive interview, Bob Guccione, editor and publisher of Penthouse, chronicles his battles against censorship and explains his ideas about the nature of freedom and its limits. Contributing editor David Brudnoy provides a fascinating historical perspective on one of Guccione's forerunners—Theodore Schroeder, 19th century foe of Comstockian censorship and blue laws. Also featured in the issue will be David Levy's fascinating discussion of the lessons we—especially our politicians—can learn from the example of Walt Disney World. The October issue will also include a review of the Liberty Fund's Education in a Free Society, Davis Keeler's Money column, Murray Rothbard's Viewpoint, the new Spotlight column, and all of REASON's regular columns and features.

error from a man of Mr. Paris' background.

Horace P. Sragow
New York, NY

AGREEMENT

In the June 1975 REASON Mr. John Exter says (p. 89), "I think it can be more important at times to watch the turnover of that money [note and demand deposits] rather than to watch the supply itself." To which I would add "all times."

For example:

In the two year period, February 1973 through February 1975, as a result of the monetization of $12.4 billion of Federal government and agency obligations, currency outstanding increased $12.4 billion. In the same period, demand deposits increased $6.7 billion.

To the respectively dated money supply figures let us apply the applicable monthly turnover figures: (in billions)

Month	Money Supply	Turnover	Usage (Transaction Volume)
Feb. 1975	$311.0	85.8	$26.684
Feb. 1973	291.8	66.1	19.288
Increase	$ 19.2	19.7	$ 7.396
Percent Increase	6.5	29.8	38.3

Unless the money supply is used it is sterile. The volume of transactions is therefore of the utmost significance because it is through it that both taxes and savings are generated.

During the two year period time deposits increased $63.2 billion and C/D's issued by the commercial banks $40.8 billion, a total of $104 billion, which provided all but $3 billion of the funds used to expand loans by $107 billion.

In view of the source of lendable funds, a sharp distinction should be made between the import of the 6½ percent increase in the money supply (due almost entirely to the conversion of the bank's reserves with the Fed) and that of the credit supply which increased 32.1 percent, a ratio of five to one.

Time deposits (and in this analysis, borrowings) in the commercial banking system are of course only one source of lendable funds resulting from savings in other institutions which are generated by the turnover of the money supply.

Mr. Exter is quite right in his contention that it is the continual expansion of credit, evidenced by a concomitant increase in debt, which is the vital factor in the disorder in our monetary system.

Ellerton A. Lodge
Lake Forest, IL

A SUGGESTION

I have read Charles Curley's article entitled, "A New U.S. Gold Coinage" in your June 1975 issue, and I would like to suggest that the U.S. Treasury should just issue restrike double eagles, dated 1976 for the bicentennial, and sell them at the current market price of the original double eagles. This would be a way to use up some of the junk gold coin melt in Fort Knox and help to finance the federal budget deficit. Or perhaps the proceeds could be used to buy .995+ gold on the open market, to replace the "barbaric relic" for the Fort Knox depository. (In a similar way, the British government makes a bundle by minting the Elizabeth II sovereigns.)

Rev. Bernard Benischeck
Philadelphia, PA

FACING AUTONOMY

Thanks to Mike Dunn for his letter in the June issue on Kaufmann's *Without Guilt and Justice.* Freedom is such a truly awesome concept that I think we have seen as yet only its dim outlines.

> "That region is not safe for strangers, and having wit doubles the dangers."
> —The Gay Science.

Nevertheless we move onward.

Robert W. Franson
San Diego, CA

Letters from readers are welcome. Each receives editorial consideration, although only a selection can be published and none individually acknowledged. They should be kept as brief as possible and are subject to condensation. Letters submitted for publication in this column should be typed, double-spaced. Send letters to REASON, P.O. Box 6151, Santa Barbara, CA 93111.

(continued from p. 35)

standard, both for and against it. We have heard them all at one time or another, and it is refreshing for us to read Rees-Mogg's way of handling each one. Again, he unfortunately picks up Milton Friedman's prescription that the supply of money should increase at a fixed rate each year (he calls for 3½ percent). The fact that he is calling for inflation even by his own definition apparently escapes him.

The idea of a gold standard money which, by the design of the monetary authority, is expanded at a set percentage each year (whether by 1 percent or 50 percent or whatever) is contradictory. The essential feature of a gold standard is that it places the question of expanding or contracting the money supply *solely* in the hands of the market, and therefore *entirely* outside the hands of the monetary authorities. Under a gold standard, there may be periods in which the quantity of monetary gold decreases as less gold is mined than is consumed industrially or worn away in use. This, of course, runs against Professor Friedman's prescription, and in turn shows why the monetary authorities in the U.S.A. so vehemently oppose any form of gold standard: it takes them out of the realm of being authorities and makes of them caretakers and executors of the market's decisions.

This contradiction is a flaw in the book, and it is unfortunate. It is, to everyone except a specialist in the field, an extremely fine point, so I recommend the book in spite of the contradiction. The arguments given in favor of the gold standard are well worth presenting, and the fact that they are presented in a lively manner is an added plus. ◻

Charles Curley is the author of The Coming Profit In Gold, *and is a founding member of the National Committee to Legalize Gold. [See "Profile," this issue]*

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(continued on page 50)

BRAVE AMERICAN OPENS SECRET DOORS,

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Peter James blows the lid off a national intelligence scandal that picks up where Watergate left off: an incipient gestapo that has harassed citizens, spied on them, infiltrated businesses, and resorted to intimidation, blackmail, even threats of murder—all in the name of a fictitious "national security."

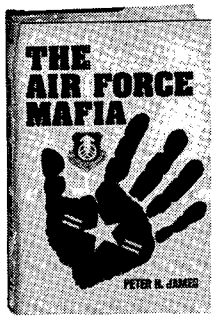
James was fired by Pratt & Whitney Aircraft after he announced his determination to complete this book. Because he signed no secrecy oath with the CIA (though he collected intelligence for them), and because he signed no secrecy oath with the Air Force (though he analyzed intelligence for them), his no-holds-barred expose names names and has not been censored by any government agency. After investigating the James affair, Senator William Proxmire called for the abolition of the Air Force's Foreign Technology Division—the "Air Force Mafia."

James shows how the Air Force Mafia

- recruits civilian spies
- harasses Americans abroad
- manipulates American embassies
- fabricates intelligence reports
- intimidates and infiltrates American corporations
- secretly influences the awards of billion-dollar contracts
- squanders money
- earns the derision of KGB agents

The Air Force Mafia is also a real-life spy thriller that will hold you spellbound. Complete with photos of espionage agents and incriminating government documents, the action spans three continents—from Florida and Ohio to Venice, Paris, Argentina, Rome, Germany, Yugoslavia, Marseilles and Brussels. The adversaries of Peter and Diane James are not Russian agents but spooks from the Air Force Mafia.

* Named: the corporations and universities that deal with the Air Force Mafia
* How the Air Force Mafia deceives Congress, the Executive, even the Pentagon
* Sex in the "secrets room"—or, peddling flesh for a government contract
* The Library of Congress: spies on the payroll?
* Air Force Mafia's role in trade with Soviets. Its "Mission: Impossible" team of thieves
* Naive American technicians. How they play Russian roulette with our secrets
* President Nixon gets involved. But does he know what he's doing?
* How a fortune in tax dollars is wasted on intelligence that is never analyzed
* The death threat. *New York Times* reporter snoozes through it all
* Why does the Air Force Mafia pay so much to translate one Russian textbook?
* Why call New Orleans when you can fly there? (At taxpayers' expense, of course)
* The book publisher with ties to the Air Force Mafia
* Use of secret classifications to conceal mistakes and frauds
* Extracts from KGB-approved texts—passed off as American intelligence
* How private American citizens can use the CIA
* Outclassed by the KGB—consistently
* Intelligence reports that take one or two years to process—by which time they are out of date
* How much of the U.S. intelligence dollar goes to the CIA? How much to the military?
* U.S. embassies: would *you* be safe in them?



LEFTIST PIPEDREAM?

Not at all. Peter James is a conservative, an anti-Communist, a patriot—as anyone knows who read his devastating *Soviet Conquest from Space*. Mr. James was the first American to *document* the existence of the Soviet space shuttle program. Now he becomes one of the first conservatives to tell us something we hate to hear: that people in our own Air Force have been using the strongarm methods of the Communists—on innocent Americans.

SAVE $9.95

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(continued from page 48)

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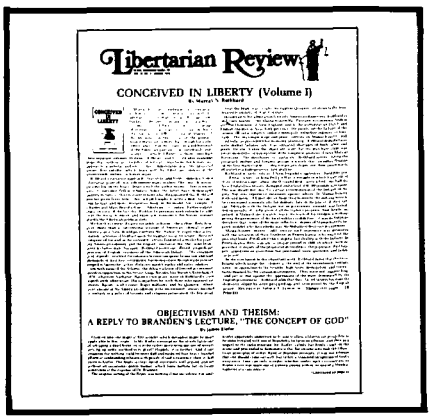
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